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EVILS AND ABUSES

IN THE

NAVAL AND MERCHANT SERVICE,

EXPOSED;

WITH PROPOSALS FOR THEIR REMEDY AND REDRESS.

OF THE
~~NAVY~~

BY WILLIAM McNALLY,

Formerly of the U. S. Navy.

BOSTON.

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P R E F A C E .

Every citizen has a right to express an opinion on public men and public measures ; and in doing so the author of this work is actuated by no other motive than to improve a class of men of which he forms a part, and who have been so shamefully neglected. He has no personal animosity to gratify, and in giving instances of improprieties and abuses, he does so, from conviction that they were wrong ; and that system which will not bear investigation, must be practically impure.

It is very seldom we hear a word in the councils of the nation, on behalf of seamen. Many members of Congress, no doubt, would be happy to bring their wrongs and grievances to notice, and assist in granting redress, were they aware of their existence ; but futurity is not more carefully hid from our knowledge, than are the wrongs of seamen from the American people. That they are ignorant, cannot be doubted ; but whose fault is it ? No institutions have been erected for them, while their own hard earnings have been squandered and misused, but for what purpose none can tell.— Every one knows that the law has never been put in force which directs hospitals and asylums to be built with the hospital fund. The earth will not yield her increase without cultivation, how then can it be expected that the powers of the human mind can be fully developed without education ?

Nathaniel Bowditch, the most talented of mathematicians, was in early life, a common sailor, without education. If the attention of seamen could be turned to the important subject of mathematics, the benefit would soon be apparent ; for they, more than any other class of men, have opportunities of improving themselves. What would cost a landsman years of hard study, could be accomplished by a seaman in the usual course of his profession.

The following pages are descriptive of evils that actually exist in the naval and merchant service. By a perusal of the work the landsman may obtain more *real* information respecting sea-life, than from all the nautical novels that ever issued from the press.

The author has given real names and characters—bestowed praise and blame, and given his reasons for so doing, and the public can judge how far his statements can be relied on. He has been careful to add no coloring or embellishment, as his object is the good of all, and the injury of none. Much indeed does he regret that seamen have not a better advocate, than one who was raised among them, and of course deprived of the advantages which education must ever give.

With regard to the political allusions that he has indulged in, he wishes to be understood as having imbibed the opinions of no political party, as it is a subject of which he knows but little. The only distinction between the two parties which he can at present perceive is, that one is in office, and wishes to remain there, and the other is out, and wishes to get in. With these explanations, the author submits his first book to the patronage of the public.

CONTENTS.

CHAPTER I.—Page 1.

Navy pay bill—warrant, or forward officers, how neglected—their limited number and constant service—difference between the proportional number of commissioned and warranted officers—the pay of the latter in different class ships, and injustice thereby—their warrants withheld and acting appointments given them—cause thereof—admirals in the navy—difference made by the Navy Department between a post captain's *lady* and forward officer's *wife* with regard to pensions.

CHAPTER II.—Page 10.

Petty officers—their pay until 1833; then reduced, by whom, and for what reasons—the injustice of the reduction—the U. S. schooner *Experiment*—her qualities—increase of our national resources attended by a reduction of petty officers' pay—another alteration made in their pay—rating a man one rate and making him do another duty—the pay of yeomen in the navy increased—at whose suggestion—pay of pursers' stewards and seamen—mutiny in the British navy at the Nore from neglect to seamen, compared to our present state—a few remarks to seamen.

CHAPTER III.—Page 18.

Enlistment and crimping for the navy—advance, how expended—injury therefrom—amount required from the purser in three years, and the enormous percentage charged thereon—small pay of pursers—the U. S. ship of the line *Delaware*—her crew deprived of liberty—lewd women allowed on board in lieu thereof, and the immoral tendency of the latter—the seamen of the *Java* on their arrival in the United States—the immense issues made by the purser to the crew—the profits of the purser of the *Delaware*—purser's clerk, steward, &c.

CHAPTER IV.—Page 28.

Slop clothing furnished by the government—the losses thereon—its uselessness from being badly made, badly cut, and bad materials—necessity of purchasing private goods from the purser, and the sacrifices made by *green* hands to have them made up—navy commissioners to blame for slop clothing being unsuitable—remarks on that subject—the North Carolina's pay bill—total credit balance due, and purser's profits estimated.

CHAPTER V.—*Page 35.*

Naval ration—when regulated by law—changes since that time in public feeling with regard to spirits—evil tendency of the ration, by encouraging drunkenness—mistaken idea respecting seamen shipping for *grog*—injury to seamen from not receiving small stores—pay of seamen in the navy compared with that of the merchant service—hints respecting the ration—want of seamen caused by the present system, and benefit likely to be derived from remodeling the ration and discontinuing spirits.

CHAPTER VI.—*Page 44.*

Want of native seamen—to the extent that it proceeds—abuses respecting protections, and the neglect of Custom House officers with regard to examining into the abuses—leaving seamen abroad—reasons for not taking apprentices in the merchant service—benefit likely to be derived from taking apprentices, and plan for the same—seamen of the navy, how instructed in their duty—false statements made by former secretaries of the navy respecting the popularity of the navy with seamen, and the injury which has arisen therefrom.

CHAPTER VII.—*Page 53.*

England's plan for raising seamen for her navy—France—her laws respecting the same—neglect of the U. S. government towards this useful class of men, and the ruinous consequences to the navy and merchants—apprentices in English vessels, and advantage arising from having men and officers educated together, and from being citizens of the same place—school ships in the river Thames—hospital fund—ignorance of seamen—appeal to Congress—bounty given to seamen in the navy—its uselessness—deplorable state of the navy from the ignorance of secretaries—advice to Mr. Paulding.

CHAPTER VIII.—*Page 62.*

The ship *Olympia*, of New Orleans—conduct of her officers—foreigners—reasons of their obsequiousness—affray in Port Mahon—beating sailors, and driving them on shore in foreign ports—tobacco found on board the *Olympia*—result—shipping men—arbitrary disposition of the mate, and a Dutchman's appeal to the captain—a man beat with a heavy belaying pin—no redress in New Orleans—injury to merchants and ship owners, from the bad treatment of seamen.

CHAPTER IX.—*Page 72.*

Brig *Charles Joseph*, of Providence—apparent kindness of the captain—its fallacy proved—flogging a seaman—cause thereof—remonstrance of the crew unheeded—provisions—means of annoyance used to punish the crew, who are driven on shore in Leghorn—character of those shipped in their stead—the captain's penuriousness—disgrace

—impropriety of not having a law to regulate the ration in the merchant service—the present law misconstrued.

CHAPTER X. — *Page 82.*

Rules and regulations for the navy—errors therein, and misrepresentation—conduct of the department in investigating complaints—two courts martial—articles 3d, 15th, and 30th, of the navy rules—how violated—the U. S. ship *Fairfield*—cruelty and oppression of her officers—punishment by Lieut. H—m—r—his death and burial—cause thereof—Jimmy Leggs—his villainy and power—his death—disputing officers contrary to law—two officers turned on shore from the *St. Louis*, by orders from M. Dickinson, secretary of the navy.

CHAPTER XI. — *Page 97.*

Flogging on board the *Fairfield*, seen from the *Delaware's* tops, and the cause—purser and first lieutenant at loggerheads—subsequent conduct of the first lieutenant—crew allowed to draw articles from the purser without limitation—bright work—the U. S. ship *Lexington*, Capt. D—n—instances of unjust punishment—Wm. McIntire—his death—Lt. St—gs—his ignorance—Captain D—n instructs him how to take in sail—liberty given the crew for ninety-nine years—Captain McKeever takes the ship—his kindness.

CHAPTER XII. — *Page 108.*

The United States ship *Delaware* taken out by Capt. Downes—the commodore makes one cruise in her, and joins the *Fairfield*—the treaty with the Turks concluded by Commodore Biddle—digression—expenses of the *Delaware*, while laying in Mahon—injury to junior officers, from that cause—the crew deprived of liberty, and abused—the consequences—the commodore's conduct in Carthage—his orders, and reserved habits—his treatment of Commodore Staines—the Warren—conduct of the captain and officers—kindness of Lieut. Junius J. Boyle.

CHAPTER XIII. — *Page 122.*

Receiving ships—what they ought to be—Hudson—Columbus—Congress—The *Java*, and Lieut. S—r—his drunkenness, abuse, tyranny, and oppression—lines written to him—Lewis and Lieut. S—r & Co.—Scandal—Lieut. S—r—his character—his bad example to junior officers—slaves held on board the *Java*, contrary to law, and their masters receiving their pay.

CHAPTER XIV. — *Page 128.*

Flogging seamen in the navy and merchant service—injury therefrom in the latter—difference between English and American laws respecting seamen—want of redress for common sailors who have been

maltreated and abused—whalers—their want of seamen—their advertisements—young men's prospects who ship in them—number of seamen confined in Boston jail previous to the 15th of May, 1839, and for what cause—crew of the Shylock—their wrongs, trial, acquittal, and recovery of their wages.

CHAPTER XV.—*Page 137.*

Crew of the Halcyon as witnesses against the mate—his conviction and paltry punishment—crew of the Octavia liberated without trial—crew of the Orientis imprisoned in Pernambuco—their treatment—two of them sent on board the Effort—one of them maltreated, carried on shore and left—the treatment of the other—Captain Nichols and Wm. Couch found guilty of cruelty resulting in death—Judge Story's sentence—article from the Boston Morning Post.

CHAPTER XVI.—*Page 148.*

Great care requisite in the selection of officers for the merchant service—probable losses from their ignorance—ignorance of seamen—efforts of individuals to improve their condition—assistance required from the general government—seamen on the lakes compared with those on our sea board—education—want thereof—proposals to effect that object—want of teachers for seamen of the navy.

CHAPTER XVII.—*Page 158.*

"Degradation of seamen"—subscriptions—want of a library for the crews of ships of war and merchant vessels—Sandwich Islanders—their supply of books—the navy slush fund—its mal appropriation—books and education provided for by hunting up and applying the hospital fund—abuse respecting it and its estimated amount—naval hospitals and medical department of ships in the navy.

CHAPTER XVIII.—*Page 169.*

Promotion for privates in the navy—masters' mates—duties of passed midshipmen—second masters and passed midshipmen, different from each other—conduct of the navy department with regard to promotion—leaving seamen in foreign jails—Havana—the conduct of our consul there—two men of the Constellation—their sufferings—remarks on the want of laws to protect seamen from outrages—letters from the Boston Atlas—popularity in the navy, and reasons for publishing this work.

CHAPTER XIX.—*Page 183.*

Court martial—charges—conduct of the court—witnesses—John Beggs—his character and testimony—advice to John B—d—e—kindness of Commodore A. J. Dallas and Lt. Henry A. Adams—remarks and conclusion.

EVILS AND ABUSES IN THE NAVAL AND MERCHANT SERVICE.

CHAPTER I.

Navy pay bill—warrant, or forward officers, how neglected—their limited number and constant service—difference between the proportional number of commissioned and warranted officers—the pay of the latter in different class ships, and injustice thereby—their warrants withheld and acting appointments given them—cause thereof—admirals in the navy—difference made by the Navy Department between a post captain's *lady* and forward officer's *wife* with regard to pensions.

THE pay bill, fixing the pay of the officers of the navy, after much discussion and amendment, was passed at the session of 1834 and 5. From the investigations and liberal views of Congress at that time with respect to this arm of national defence, our citizens may be led to suppose that all the officers of the navy are well paid, and handsomely provided for. This is not the case. There is one class who as the greater number of them are without influential friends, whose influence could have availed them at that time, and who have by superiority in their profession, and moral character, arisen from the rank of seamen to fill the stations they now hold; a passing notice of the great injustice done them, may not be amiss here, before proceeding to the subject as connected with seamen, petty officers, &c.

The boatswains, gunners, carpenters, and sailmakers are usually denominated forward officers. The boatswains and

gunners are men who have (before attaining that rank) served their country for a long time in subordinate stations, as seamen, petty officers, &c., and are selected to fill these stations by their thorough, and superior knowledge of their profession. In the selection of these men, political influence can do nothing in procuring them their appointments. They are selected and recommended by their commanders for promotion, and who of course, during three years or more ought to be pretty well acquainted with their characters and abilities. The carpenters and sailmakers are men who are perfect masters of their trade; the former must be fully acquainted with the whole art of a ship carpenter and ship joiner. The latter must be able to cut and make any sail, for any class of vessels, and in addition to these they must be men of character and respectability. The carpenters and sailmakers are generally men, who forego all the advantages that would be derived from excellence, and superiority in their business on shore, which if followed up there, might have yielded them wealth and influence, but these are lost by entering the navy. The forward officers are in fact the most efficient officers in a ship. They are nearly always on duty. A commissioned officer may be on leave of absence, or waiting orders, for one or two years, but who ever heard of a forward officer, unless sick or disabled, being off duty more than a few months, very seldom more than three, after a three years' cruise, and then off to sea again, for another period of similar duration. Their limited number in fact prevents anything else being the case; but why are their numbers so limited? Simply because the department will not appoint more; it (as in many other branches of our government) saves at the spicket and loses at the bung. There was at the commencement of the present year, in the navy, thirty-two boatswains, thirty-five gunners, twenty-seven carpenters, and twenty-six sailmakers. Of these there were on board of ships in commission and navy yards, twenty-nine boatswains, twenty-eight gunners, twenty-one carpenters, and eighteen sailmakers. Leaving sick, waiting orders, and on leave of absence, only three boatswains, seven gunners, six carpenters, and eight sailmakers, a number by no means sufficient for the wants of

the navy or to relieve those who may return from a long cruise, worn out with fatigue and sickness. Agreeable to the navy register for 1839, there is in all one hundred and twenty boat-swains, gunners, carpenters and sailmakers, ninety-six of whom are on duty. There are three hundred and ninety-two post captains, commanders, and lieutenants in all, two hundred and one of whom are on duty. By this it will be seen that four-fifths of the warrant officers are on duty, and only a very little more than one half of those that are commissioned. But this comparison must not be considered as tending to prove that we have too many of the latter grade. On the contrary, we have not a sufficient number to officer all our vessels; but it will clearly prove that we have too few of the former; and it is as necessary that we should have a requisite number of the one, as the other, for when the services of a greater number are required, they cannot be taught their duty in one day. It has never been taken into consideration that the greater number of the forward officers have families, and as reasonably might be expected, wish to spend a part of their time with them. No, let them go to sea for four or five cruises in succession, wear themselves out in the public service, and as a recompense, look in the decline of life to the gratitude of their country, in the shape of small pay in a navy pard or three hundred and sixty dollars a year on leave of absence. This, fellow citizens, is the gratitude of the American Republic, to those who have grown grey and worn themselves out in the public service, and who have been ever ready to defend your firesides, and who have so ably protected your commerce, the source of so much wealth to your country. This is not mere assertion; look at facts. Mr. McN. the boatswain, and Mr. C. the gunner of Charlestown navy yard, are only receiving \$500 in full of pay and rations. These men have both been in the navy since the commencement of, or before the last war with Great Britain. The former is allowed by all to be the most perfect practical seaman that we have ever had in the navy, and the latter was chief mate of the ship that brought General Moreau from Cadiz to Philadelphia when banished from France by Napoleon, is a well informed man, and perfect gentleman.

Had he remained in the merchant service, his merit would soon have procured him a command, and long ere this he might have realized enough to have kept him comfortable in the decline of life, without being dependent on the scanty pittance allowed him in the navy.

I hope those gentlemen will excuse the liberty that I have taken with them. I am, and shall be compelled to make such allusions in regard to this and other subjects in order to prove that these are facts, and not idle declamation. These and other instances will serve to show how these men and seamen suffer from not having friends to represent their case to the public, and consequently a want of proper representation of their case in the national legislature. How far this may go in bringing the foul injustice done them before the public, I will not attempt to predict, but I could not let this opportunity slip without representing their case to their fellow citizens. The pay bill fixed the pay of boatswains, gunners, carpenters and sailmakers as follows :

When serving on board a ship of the line	\$750	per annum,
“ “ “ frigate	600	“ “
All other duty	500	“ “
On leave of absence or waiting orders	360	“ “

All other duty includes navy yards, and the law moreover states that “one ration per day only, shall be allowed to all officers attached to vessels for sea service.” Now in a navy yard the officers are not allowed a ration which is valued at 20 cents per day, but at sea they are, by which it is evident that the officer of this grade, who is serving in a ship of the line, who was appointed as it were yesterday, receives in all \$823, being \$323 per annum more than the old faithful servant who from long servitude, is unable to attend to duty on board of a ship in active service. Could the highest pay be always given to the oldest and most deserving, as no doubt was the intention of Congress when the law was passed, the case would be different, but, at present, it is a manifest wrong. When the department wants to order these officers to ships for sea service there is the leave of absence or waiting orders list. Select one from them, send him orders, on the receipt of which, he must

hasten to obey, and leave country and friends without a murmur. In fact there are so few, as has been shown, of this grade, that no other method can be pursued, and the department will not appoint more.

Another species of oppression has lately been put in force at the department. These officers are not warranted by the president as formerly, but must be satisfied with acting appointments from the Secretary of the Navy. The cause of this may be explained by the department, but I have never as yet heard any reason for not giving these officers warrants signed by the President of the United States, and can attribute it to no other than a wish to keep them more dependant on superiors, or those in office.

Many attempts have been made to create admirals in our navy, and there should be, to entitle it to respect abroad, and procure for its superior officers the etiquette and rank that those of other nations receive. But it may be relied upon that no member of Congress will ever vote in favor of the admiral bill, when he knows that forward officers are withheld their warrants. The same reason that kept the pay bill so long back will ruin this. The superiors wished to have their pay increased without any reference to the inferiors. The veil that is thrown over the admiral bill is equally flimsy, and when drawn aside discovers the same latent disposition of the other.

I would ask whether or not the duty of a boatswain, gunner, carpenter, or sailmaker is not as arduous as that of a passed midshipman? have they not as much responsibility? must they not dress as gentlemen? have they not to leave their home and families? and why should they have less pay? they are not entitled to promotion, the others are. A passed midshipman has not too much pay, but why should a forward officer have less? The ruin of this grade is that commanders are allowed to appoint Tom, Dick, and Harry to fill these stations, when the department fails to order a boatswain or gunner to a vessel when she fits out. The department very often has none of these officers to order. What must our citizens think when they are told that we have not officers enough of every grade to order to the few ships that we keep in commission for the protection

of our commerce. In case of a war, what are we to do? these officers will not spring up like mushrooms in a night. Then, and not until then, will our citizens see the pernicious effects of keeping well earned promotion from those who ought to be appointed to fill those stations, when it can be done at so paltry an expense, as would leave those who are acquainted with the subject to wonder at the apathy of the department on a matter of so much consequence. When men are temporarily appointed to the rank of boatswain or gunner, no more is expected from them than the common conduct of seamen, viz. dissipation and folly, and they may be turned adrift whenever it suits the whim of those who appointed them. This operates against the deserving and good to a considerable extent. For admirals we could copy a precedent from England and other European powers. Let us do so in this respect also, it will hold equally good in both cases. The oldest warrant officers in the British navy have the largest ships, and the highest pay, and when they are on leave their pay is in proportion to the size of the ship in which they last served, or to which they may be entitled, and all are warranted by the Admiralty. Of one hundred and twenty boatswains, gunners, carpenters and sailmakers in our navy, only fifty-two are warranted, making sixty-eight under acting appointments. By article thirty-three of the Navy Regulations, "all officers not holding commissions or warrants, or who are not entitled to them, are deemed petty officers." Thus it appears that these sixty-eight are to perform the duty of officers, and only receive the respect due to petty officers. If it is said that these officers are entitled to warrants let me ask why they do not receive them? Such injustice smells rank to heaven.

Members of Congress are ignorant of these matters, but the Secretary of the Navy is not, or should not be, and such acts of injustice ought to be made known to the public, who must, in a country like ours, feel a deep interest in the welfare of the navy. The present head of the navy department I do not know, except as a talented writer, but it is to be hoped that such alterations as he can he will make, and not follow in the "steps of his illustrious predecessor." It has often been a

matter of surprise to me why any difference should be made in the pay of this class of officers in different class ships. There are no more ropes, rigging, sails, &c. on board of a ship of the line, than on board a sloop of war. They may be larger, it is true, but therein alone consists the difference. There may be more guns, but the gunner has more men to attend to them, and just so in everything else. A man who is qualified for a forward officer on board of a sloop of war is capable of filling the same station on board of a ship of the line; in fact the larger the ship, the better accommodations there, and there is not one of this grade who would not rather do duty on board of a frigate, or larger ship, in preference to a schooner or sloop of war; for in the latter it is often necessary that a forward officer should put his own hands to a *job*, whereas on board of a large ship such a thing is unknown. The duties of these officers in navy yards are very complicated, and they must attend from sunrise to sunset, the same as common laborers. It will naturally be asked why these facts were not stated to Congress during the passage of the bill? Simply because these men had no delegate or political friends, or influence, at the seat of government. Not so with all others. There are very few, if any, of the other officers of the navy but what had *relatives* or *personal friends* who took care that their interests should not be neglected. But the forward officers are partly seamen, and there appears to be an apathy towards that useful, but neglected class of men, which cannot be accounted for reasonably.*

How will the citizens of this enlightened republic be aston-

* When Congress met last session the forward officers selected one of their number to go to Washington and endeavor to have the pay bill equalized. This person accordingly went and remained there during the whole session, without being successful in his mission. His expenses were paid by his brother officers; but the air of the capitol appeared to have a wonderful effect upon him. While there he learned that a man by minding his own business may make his fortune; at all events he managed to exchange his C—p—r's warrant for a second lieutenant's commission in the marine corps. His commission will not bring him a much greater salary than his former warrant, but some men have little minds, and Wm. L— can now mess with the wardroom officers, and sport a green coat, instead of his former blue one: but if he is no better at dressing off a marine guard than he was at dressing a spar, or if he cannot form a better line with the

ished when they know that the injustice that these men suffer when alive, is continued to their wives and offspring after the grave has closed over them, but such is the fact, although I blush to confess that such could be the case in a country like ours.

When the late Commodore John D. Henley died, while in the command of the West India squadron, the Secretary of the Navy, as the deceased was a Commodore, thought the case of sufficient importance to lay before Congress, to know whether or not the widow of the deceased was to be entitled to a pension amounting to one half of his full, or one half of his leave of absence pay. Congress decided that she should be entitled to one half of the latter. Now here was a decision which ought to govern the department in regard to similar claims of the widows or children of other officers; and let us see how far it has acted in compliance with the decision of Congress in other cases. If a forward officer dies, the department thinks proper only to grant the widow, or children, one half of what his pay was previous to the late pay bill being passed, which was only twenty dollars per month, exclusive of rations; and one half of this is granted as a pension, that is, ten dollars per month, whereas one half of his leave of absence pay under the present law would be fifteen dollars per month, and which sum the *widow or children of a forward officer* is equally as much entitled to as the *lady of Commodore Henley*. Here the citizen may see how those who are in office dare to violate every principle of right and justice, dare to deprive the orphan, or widow of the forward officer of bread to eat, and a house to put their heads in, by withholding from them one-third of what they are entitled to by law.

marines than he could in lining off in a mould loft he will not be any great acquisition to the corps. He may now associate with the *middies*, for of their company he used to be very fond; but he may now forsake them for something higher, as he did his brother officers, for their society when he was a c—p—r. Long may he wear his laurels. If his present brother officers consider him no greater gain than the forward officers did his loss; there will only be a cypher added to their number. He may find some of the marine officers who look upon his manner of getting among them, in pretty much the same light that the forward officers do upon his manner of leaving them.

What a precious thing is office, get into possession and you may trample your fellow men into the dust, keep their rights from them, and they must submit to the decree in silence. Take a navy register and you may find that one of these so trampled on may have joined the service twenty or twenty-five years ago, in which he has been ever since, and look at his oppressor, his name is new to the world, he was never known beyond the circle of his own friends until he became the leader of a political party. I would not have it understood that I wish to cast the smallest reflection on the present secretary ; I hope, and believe him to be too good a man to trample on the rights of another, but there are certain usages at the department which he must break through, or his name will share the same fate of his predecessors. I cannot close this article without pointing out a circumstance to show the difference between precept and example. When Commodore Downes took the command of the U. S. frigate Potomac, a part of his instructions at that time have since been published in a work entitled the "Cruise of the Potomac," by Mr. Reynolds. In these instructions the Commodore was directed by the Secretary of the Navy to extend similar indulgences to all the officers under his command, without distinction as to rank. Oh, precious *hypocrisy* ; Commodore Downes will do injustice to none if he is aware of it, but the Department can preach one lesson and perform another, give the widow of one officer half of her husband's pay, and another only one-third. How truly the instructions from the department to Commodore Downes fulfilled the old adage, "that we often give a lesson to others that we cannot take to ourselves."

CHAPTER II.

Petty officers—their pay until 1833 ; then reduced, by whom, and for what reasons—the injustice of the reduction—the U. S. schooner *Experiment*—her qualities—increase of our national resources attended by a reduction of petty officers' pay—another alteration made in their pay—rating a man one rate and making him do another duty—the pay of yeomen in the navy increased—at whose suggestion—pay of purser's stewards and seamen—mutiny in the British navy at the Nore from neglect to seamen, compared to our present state—a few remarks to seamen.

PETTY OFFICERS are the mechanics, boatswain's mates, gunner's crew, quarter masters, master at arms, captains of tops, forecandle, &c., &c.

The law on the organization of the navy, left the pay of petty officers, seamen, ordinary seamen, &c. to be regulated by the department, which, until 1833, was as follows :

Gunner's mates, \$19 per month.	Ship cook, . \$18 per month.
Boatswain's do. 19 " "	Master at arms, 18 " "
Carpenter's do. 19 " "	Armourer, . 18 " "
Sailmaker's do. 19 " "	Seamen, . 12 " "
Quarter gunners, 18 " "	Ordinary seamen, 10 " "
Quarter masters, 18 " "	Landsmen, . 8 " "
Ship steward, 18 " "	Boys, 1st class, 8 " "
Yeoman, . 18 " "	" 2nd " . 6 " "
Cooper, . 18 " "	

This was the pay of petty officers, &c. for many years, but a new idea entered into the head of the secretary or the navy commissioners, (which I know not.) The latter had tried several *experiments*, such as building the U. S. schooner *Experiment*, and being so successful in that, thought that they must try another on the pay of the petty officers.

To prevent being misunderstood by the reader, I have a word to say in relation to the U. S. schooner *Experiment*. She was built at Washington, under the eyes of the board of commissioners and secretary of the navy, upon an entire new plan. The use of knees and timbers was voted superfluous, and she was to have none. The use of oakum was ditto, and

to encourage home produce, she was caulked with cotton and pegs. No grog was to be served to her crew, which was the only good *experiment* of the whole; but as they had hit on a good *experiment* there, it was soon fell through, and grog was served to the crew. Her model was entirely different from all other vessels that I have ever seen. She much resembled that useful article known amongst seamen by the title of *serving mallet*, by which name she was well known on the West India station. The first mishap that she met with was, in firing a salute on her arrival at Norfolk, Va. The concussion shook her so that the cotton and pegs started from her sides, and she had to be caulked with oakum, to the manifest injury of the cotton planters. I do not remember how many days she was on her passage to Pensacola, but she made a passage from Havana to that port in twenty-five days. A washing tub would have made it in a shorter time, but she was an *experiment*. Yet she was not a dead loss to the good people of the United States, for in consequence of her unfitness to cruise about on the ocean she was kept laying in Pensacola, and saved the expense of rigging a flag-staff at the commander's house to hoist his broad pendant on when the rest of the squadron were on a cruise. When she wanted a supply of beef, bread, or wood, she would go as far as the navy yard, which was an occurrence always duly noted in the Pensacola Gazette, and a superannuated land crab would have beat her on the race from the navy yard to the town. The *Experiment* was finally sent home, and on the passage she proved that she had one good quality, at least, she lost her rudder while laying to in a gale, and none were aware of the fact until it abated. The *Experiment* was so admirably constructed that she lay to, broad side on, like a crabb, as well without as with a rudder. Every naval officer has reason to be proud that she never was exhibited in any foreign port but Havana, so that few are aware of her existence. She is now employed on the survey of the coast, and may answer for that purpose, if for no other. But to resume.

There are in all vessels of war, in each top and on the forecastle, men who are denominated first and second captains, that is one first, and one second captain in each watch. It

was concluded at Washington, that these men, who are reckoned the best in a ship, (after the petty officers) ought to have more pay, which was very reasonable and just; as in case of anything going wrong, or foul, during any evolution, these men are called and have to answer for any mistakes that are made at their respective stations, and often are answerable for the acts of others. It was thought proper that they should have more pay, and as *ideas* were crowding thick upon the brain of the discoverer, it was also deemed that the others had too much, and in order to create no additional expense, it was decided that the pay of the petty officers should be as follows:

Quarter masters, \$16 per month.	1st captains of the mizen top
Quarter gunner, 15 " "	14 per month.
Yeomen, 15 " "	1st captains of the forecastle
1st captains of the fore and main top, 15 per month.	15 per month.
2nd captains of the fore and main top, 14 per month.	2nd captains of the forecastle
	14 per month.

These were the alterations made in the pay of petty officers, and pursers were directed to pay them accordingly. From the time of the war until 1833, the pay of petty officers had been eighteen and nineteen dollars per month, according to their rates. During this time our commerce had trebled under the protection afforded to it by the navy, and a long uninterrupted peace. Our country, during this time, had risen to the first rank amongst the nations of the earth, to a rank unparalleled in the history of any republic; her progress in the arts and sciences, agriculture, and manufactures, astonished the world. Her flag floated in every sea. Her national debt was extinguished, and the treasury overflowing with surplus revenue. Her gallant little navy had gained itself an honorable name in our struggle with the greatest maritime nation in the world. The navy that had done this, that had filled the brightest page in the proud annals of our land with its deeds, was after the peace employed protecting our commerce—which was making our merchants princes, and conferring wealth and happiness on our citizens and country. So prosperous was the state of our country that the surplus revenue was a bone of contention to

the different States. The pay of the officers of the navy had been doubled, and shortly afterwards trebled. Seamen who had fought the battles of our country on the ocean, had grown grey in the service, had attained the rank of petty officers, and who were at the bottom of our country's greatness: during this prosperous state of things it was found, by the fertile minds of some who had never, perhaps, seen a shot fired in anger during their lives, that the petty officers had all this time been receiving too much pay. Oh shame! Oh my country! can it possibly be believed that the very men who were at that time straining every nerve to have their own pay increased, would recommend that the very sinews of the service, the petty officers, should have their's reduced. But so it was. The secretary of the navy could never have, of himself, thought of such an alteration, could not have known that there were such men as captains of the fore-castle, or captains of tops. The monstrous, unjust, and despicable plan originated at the navy board, or with some one well acquainted with the details of the navy. His name ought to be given up to the public for the unerring finger of scorn to point at. Shame should be painted upon his forehead. Had it been recommended to increase the pay of captains of the fore-castle and tops, it would have been well, for they are always smart, active, good seamen, and deserve all they now receive; but if they were formerly receiving too little wages, it did not follow that quarter masters, quarter gunners, and yeomen were receiving too much; no, but on the contrary, were receiving too little. The petty officers are the best men in the navy, are entrusted with the superintending and performing all important duty; to them the officers look in time of danger and emergency, for support; they must be particular in their dress; are held up as an example for the rest of the crew; and these deserving men were receiving too much pay. "I pity the man who can travel from Dan to Bersheba and say all is barren." There was something in the head of the one who advised that measure that a phrenologist would never have found.

By a Navy Register just sent me by a friend, it appears that

the department is not yet satisfied with the pay of the sinews of the service, for since I left the navy the pay has again been altered, and now stands as follows :

Boatswain's, gunner's and carpenter's mates,	\$19 per month.
Master at arms,	19 "
Ship's cooks, ship's stewards, and quarter masters,	18 "
Quarter gunner's, cooper's, and ship's corporals,	15 "
Coxswain and captains of forecandle,	18 "
Armorer and officer's steward,	18 "
Surgeon's steward and master of band,	18 "
Captains of tops and captains of hold,	15 "
Officer's cooks and sailmaker's mates,	15 "
Seamen and 1st class musicians,	12 "
Ordinary seamen and 2nd class musicians,	10 "
Landsmen,	9 "
Boys, from 6 to	8 "

This is certainly a little better, but why is a quarter master's pay, again increased to what it formerly was, and not a quarter gunner's? Why are sailmaker's mates' and cooper's pay reduced? they must serve a time to their trade and know their business perfectly. Rating officer's stewards captains of hold and *loblolly boys* will do away with one abuse; that is, rating a man one thing, and making him perform another duty. Those who are always making alterations must sometimes blunder into what is right in spite of themselves. When I was gunner of the U. S. ship Concord, I was allowed by the regulations of the navy eight quarter gunners and a mate. I had only five and latterly six. The captain of the hold was rated a quarter gunner, and some one else, I do not now remember who. I was allowed a yeoman, but had none. I made out my own returns of expenditures, and kept my own books; the rate of my yeoman was given to a man who wrote for the first lieutenant. When I was on board the Lexington, as a yeoman, I had to do the duty for the boatswain, gunner, carpenter, and sailmaker in that line, and also the writing for the first lieutenant. I appeal to Lieut. Bubier for the truth of this statement; he was first lieutenant for some time. At that time there were three yeomen allowed to the ship and three were rated, but one was captain of the hold, and the other the surgeon's mate or *loblolly boy*, as he is more frequently termed, while I had to perform their duty in the store-room, cooped up from morning until

night, to be ready for all calls, performing the duty allotted to three men, and receiving the pay of one. It is true when Capt. McKeever and Lieut. Joseph Myers joined the ship, that in consequence of my confinement and writing so much, I was allowed a great many privileges and indulgences more than any of the other petty officers, yet that did not make it right or just.

The duty of a yeoman is to keep an account of the receipts and expenditures of the boatswain, gunner and carpenter's stores, and to issue them as directed by the executive officer; one is allowed to each department, and under his charge the whole stores for a three years cruise are immediately placed. But it frequently happens that one has to do the whole duty, while the vacant rates are given to others. When I was attached to the U. S. ship *Vandalia*, I wrote on the subject, and published my remarks in the *Army and Navy Chronicle*, then edited by Benjamin Homans, Esq. The communication elicited no notice, and I had almost forgotten the circumstance, when on my return from the service of a foreign government, I found the very plan I had recommended, put in force with respect to this grade, viz: to have only one in each ship, and hold him responsible for the whole stores, paying him per month when on board of a schooner eighteen dollars, in a sloop of war twenty five dollars, in a frigate, thirty-five, and in a ship of the line, forty. This plan was not adopted, however, until long after my remarks were published. Although it appears that it was approved of, it was not acted upon until a sufficient time had elapsed to make it appear as a measure of the Department, or or a lucky hit of some wiser head than mine. Don't say, Mr. Secretary, or Navy Commissioner, that you thought of it yourself; if you do, like "Puff in the critic, I thought of it first," and claim it accordingly; a witness for which claim, can be produced by the columns of the *Army and Navy Chronicle*. However, if some more of my plans which are founded in justice, reason, and common sense, were adopted, although too late ever to benefit myself in the navy, I shall forgive them being used as the inventions of superiors at the seat of government.

The pay of a ship's steward is entirely too small, but as the

purser, under whose direction he comes, has such enormous perquisites, it is naturally expected that he will share the spoils with his subordinate, or, at least, make him up a decent salary, which is invariably done. But as I do not approve of pursers or their stewards being paid out of the hard earnings of the seamen, it would, to prevent the necessity of doing so, be necessary to increase the pay of ship's steward to the same standard as that of yeoman. The pay of an able seaman is entirely too small, when it is considered that he has to clothe himself, purchase tea, sugar and tobacco, out of this sum.

It will be recollected by all our citizens who have read the history of England, that that country was nearly ruined about a half century ago by the mutiny at the Nore. Innumerable evils and abuses existed in the British navy at that time, and many memorials and petitions had been presented by the seamen praying for a redress of grievances. They were unheeded and treated with contempt; and what followed? The men who had in vain sought for redress, turned the arms that they had wielded for the defence of their country, against that country, and with all the bitterness of domestic quarrels, were determined to sacrifice either their country or themselves, in preference to listening to reason. It would be difficult perhaps, to draw a distinct line between a country and its citizens, so as to mark exactly how far each might go without infringing on the rights of the other, or how long tyranny and oppression are to be suffered, before having recourse to arms for redress. At all events, the people of England saw the arms that had protected them so gallantly from their enemies, turned against themselves, and those who wielded them were like wounded bears, determined to have the last hug. Had these men made sail on the vessels under their control, and given them up to the nation with which England was then at war, the star of Britain's naval ascendancy would have set forever. But they loved their country, although that country had proved ungrateful, and only sought the redress of the grievances by force, which had been denied to them by petition and gentle means. The greater portion of British subjects, before that step was taken by their seamen, were perhaps not aware of the existence of the abuses

of which they complained. But evils and abuses may exist without being publicly known.

A republic like the United States has never any danger to apprehend from her seamen, any encroachments upon the rights of her citizens; not so with an army. An army under the control of an ambitious leader, may destroy the liberties of a people, and trample them in the dust. But a navy, no matter how powerful it may be, can never do this. So that, in a country like ours, where commerce is the great source of national wealth, the navy ought to be cherished, and every abuse and grievance promptly corrected and removed. The greater part of our citizens are not aware that there are either abuses or evils in this branch of the public service; but I hope to be able to show them that such is the case, and that the seamen of the navy and merchant service have just ground of complaint. It will then remain with the citizens, though their representatives, to have them redressed.

Who ever heard of seamen having a delegate to represent their grievances to Congress? No one. All classes of officers have had, and why should seamen not be entitled to the same privilege? They have more wrongs to complain of than any others, for none of them have ever been redressed or alterations made for their advantage, since the organization of the navy. Now Jack tars, I wish you would raise a sum sufficient to enable me to take my land tacks aboard, allow me double rations, and send me to Washington to represent your grievances to Congress. I do not know the present honorable secretary, but if I could get him and some honorable representatives seated comfortably in their easy chairs, with a bottle of wine and some cigars before them, and they give me a patient hearing, I would prescribe some doses to be administered to the navy, which if done would purge and impart a more healthy vigour to its constitution than it has yet been blessed with. If not, why I am one of the greatest quacks that ever dealt in the healing art.

I do not doubt that many of the members of Congress would be found ready and willing to extend to you the encouragement and redress that has so long been withheld, and to which you are entitled by every principle of common sense and justice. It

is wrong to accuse Congress of indifference towards you. That body cannot correct evils of which they know nothing. You have borne your injuries in silence ; your complaint has never reached them. Not so with your fellow citizens on shore ; if any of their number think themselves aggrieved, they petition Congress ; and many of them create imaginary evils, in order to show their importance. So that Congress very naturally expects that all real grievances are laid before them, when they see so many petitions for redress of abuses that never existed except in the minds of the party. They petition for the abolition of slavery in the southern states ; they do not know that you are in a worse condition than the swarthy brood of Africa. They do not think that you are a body of one hundred thousand strong, and yet cut off from a vote or a representation. How long they will remain so, must hereafter be determined.

CHAPTER III.

Enlistment and crimping for the navy—advance, how expended—injury therefrom—amount required from the purser in three years, and the enormous percentage charged thereon—small pay of pursers—the U. S. ship of the line Delaware—her crew deprived of liberty—lewd women allowed on board in lieu thereof and the immoral tendency of the latter—the seamen of the Java on their arrival in the United States—the immense issues made by the purser to the crew—the profits of the purser of the Delaware—purser's clerk, steward, &c.

SEAMEN, &c. when they enter the navy, enlist for three years. There is always a number of crimps hanging round the rendezvous where the seamen ship, to induce them to do so, for which they receive a fee, not from the government as is the case when men are enlisted for the army, (for the government is sparing of its cash where seamen are concerned) but from the seamen themselves. A bonus must be paid by them for permission to enter the service of their country.

Crimping is a word well understood by all persons acquainted with the navy ; but to the uninitiated it will be necessary to explain it. It does not mean crimping codfish, nor crimping

a frill, but kidnapping men for the navy. A crimp is not a whit more respectable than a body-snatcher, and twin brother to one who bears nearly the same name, and is supported on the establishment of a certain class of females. The crimp persuades the seaman by fine stories to ship, tells him he will have three months advance, gets him to affix his name to the articles, and if he is what is called a *green hand* induces him to go on board the ship in which he has agreed to serve, for the purpose of looking at her. While there, the crimp produces the certificate of the man having entered at the rendezvous, which is given by the officer who ships the man to the crimp. When this order is once presented to the officer of the receiving ship, the sailor cannot again be permitted to go on shore. The crimp or sailor landlord will then produce a bill against the man amounting to the whole of his three months advance. This may not be direct impressment, but it is equally unjust. I do not know how these matters are managed here in Boston, but in New York, I was receiving clerk for upwards of five months on board the Hudson frigate, and the bills brought against the seamen are generally as follows :

Services (if a Seaman),	\$4 00	Tarpaulin Hat,	1 50
Bowl and Boat,	2 00	Tin pot, spoon, pan & knife,	1 00
Landlord's Bill,	10 00	Silk Handkerchief,	1 00
Blue Jacket and Trowsers,	10 00	1 Pair of Shoes,	1 00
2 Duck frocks and trowsers,	5 00	Total,	\$36

This is a fair and just specimen of the bills. The four dollars for services is the *bonus* received by the crimp for standing the man's security, that is saying to the shipping officer that he would see the man on board the receiving ship by such a time. If the sailor had any friend he could stand the security, but the crimps would tell them (if they were unacquainted) that they alone can stand the security. Despicable wretches! The shipping officers despise them, although necessity compels them, to use the vile creatures, for the same reason that the most noxious poisons are resorted to in medicine. The bowl for which one dollar is charged, is a vile decoction of rum and sugar with the addition of an egg, and not unfrequently mixed with opium or some other drug that produces drunkenness and

sleep, and in that manner they are frequently carried on board. This dollar paid for the shipping bowl is for the good of the house where the rendezvous is kept—they too, must have their share of the plunder. How preposterous it is to make a man pay a dollar for what he may not want, and which he could procure elsewhere for twelve and a half cents! Does not the government pay for the rooms used by the shipping officers? and why should the seamen be taxed to support sharpers. One dollar is charged for the boat to take him on board, when that would be done by any other boatman for twenty-five cents, but the crimp's boatmen, and those who keep the rendezvous and sloop-shop are all linked together and it is no part of their policy to let the seamen escape with a single dollar if it can by any means be prevented. When a recruit is brought on board the receiving ship, their clothing is examined to see that they have the quantity required by the regulations of the ship or enough to last them three months; if so, they are asked by the receiving officer if they are satisfied. If they answer in the affirmative, a receipt is then given to the crimp or landlord, and he draws their advance. If they say that the articles with which they are charged have not been received, the receipt is retained until they are. But it seldom happens but what the crimp, by fair promises, cajoles them into his plans, whereby he obtains their advance. I declare in this public manner, that it is not exaggeration but facts, and very rarely have I seen or known a man to receive more than one or two dollars out of his three month's advance.

When a seaman has been treated in this shameful manner, and comes to his senses, he thinks all the world is against him, becomes dogged and sullen, and the first opportunity that offers he deserts from the service, and thereby injures the navy in the estimation of other seamen, owing to the villainy practised by the crimps. The higher grade of officers in the navy have it in their power to correct this system of robbery and kidnapping, but many of them are content to let the less fortunate of their professional brethren fall a prey to the villainy of a few beings who are destitute of every moral principle. Others cannot remove this abuse, it being of too long standing. How

much longer seamen are thus to be plundered, must be decided by an enlightened public. It may truly be said that the sailor is somewhat like the whale, the swordfish wounds him underneath, while the thrasher attacks him from above. The crimps first ship and rob him; he then falls on the hands of the purser for three years. When he returns home the land-shark is ready to deprive him of what the others have left, so that he is continually the victim of imposition and injustice. He bears his lot contentedly, however. When he has money, it is ever at the service of the needy or distressed; the object of poverty never passes by unrelieved. Only tell him that some are poor or distressed and they are instantly relieved. His hard earnings are soon spent, and he puts to sea again to encounter hardships and dangers of the direst nature, which he meets with manly fortitude.

I will draw a rough sketch of what a seaman in the navy will have to purchase from the purser, in the course of three years, and show the balance that he will be likely to have at the end of a three years' cruise.

3 months' advance,	\$36 00
36 " tea and sugar, at \$1 50 per month,	54 00
36 " soap and tobacco, at \$1 " "	36 00
2 suits of slop clothing, viz: jackets and trowsers,	18 00
2 " fine, do.	48 00
15 duck frocks and 12 pair duck trowsers, or sheeting for the same,	36 90
6 flannel shirts, at \$1 50 each; 4 pair flannel drawers, at 80 cts.	12 20
6 black handkerchiefs, at \$1 each; 10 pair stockings, at 80 cts.	14 00
10 pair shoes, at \$1 75 per pair, and 2 pea jackets,	27 50
Tape, needles, thread, ribbon, mustard, pepper, spoons, knives, pots, pans, jack knives, straw for hats, blacking, &c. &c.	60 00
36 months' hospital fund, at 20 cents per month,	7 20
Amount drawn from the Purser,	\$349 80
Total credit for three years, at \$12 per month,	\$432 00
Balance due, at the end of three years,	\$ 82 20

The articles above enumerated, as to quantity and prices, are reasonably supposed; and there is no deduction made for any liberty money that may have been advanced, or any articles that may have been purchased from the purser to sell again, in order to raise money. But it is invariably the case

that seamen do so ; I have rarely seen one, in the course of eleven years that I served in the navy, but what bought goods of the purser, and sold them again on shore at a discount of from forty to sixty per cent. I have seen gown patterns, pieces of Irish linen, pieces of silk handkerchiefs, broadcloths, linen shirts, and many other superfluous articles, brought on board and sold to the sailors, when it was well known that they could not want such articles for any other purpose than to dispose of again ; yet their purchasing them was overlooked by the superior officers. A captain, when looking over the pay roll, which is made out every six months, could easily perceive, was he so disposed, that there were some transactions of this nature carried on, if the men were in debt to the purser after being eighteen months or two years shipped ; as is, and frequently has been the case. It is contrary to law, that is certain ; but where is the use of a law that is never put in force ? It is only such articles as are furnished by the government that are charged as slops, and on these the purser has only a profit of ten per cent., and is not allowed to dispose of more than a certain quantity to each person. But all fancy articles are charged upon the pay roll as cash. A man may be charged with \$200, as advanced by the purser in money, when he never received five, in cash. K-o-u-g-h-p-h-y does not spell coffee, but what does it spell ? If charging a man with \$200 in money, when he has never had ten, is not both unjust and improper, to say the least of it, what is it ? It may naturally be asked why pursers are allowed to do so ? I can only say that law and custom, blended together very nicely, is their warrant for it.

Pursers are the disbursing officers for the government, and they are under heavy bonds for a faithful fulfilment and discharge of their duty, which is certainly very complicated, and requires a great deal of management—and if this is done it will yield abundantly. The salary of pursers is a mere trifle—only \$480 per annum, exclusive of rations ; but if they are not well paid by government, they are allowed to pay themselves, out of the wages of the poor seamen. They are allowed by law to charge fifty per cent. profit on many articles, and twenty-five upon others. They are not well paid by government, but

it has given them privileges which are tantamount to giving a Yorkshireman a bridle, which will end in his finding a horse. I have heard it remarked, that pursers might as well have seamen's money, as landlords and lewd women,—which may be true ; but it is not necessary that any of those should have his hard earnings, or that such advantages should be taken of them by one, or that they should be fleeced by the other. Pursers ought to be well paid by the government, and many of them would rather be so than as they are at present. Yet the love of making money has a powerful effect upon the human heart.

When the navy pay bill was before Congress, a motion was made to regulate the pay and perquisites of pursers also ; but it was withdrawn in consequence of its being proposed to make a separate bill for them, which was a mean subterfuge ; and so it rests, and will rest, until some active measures are taken to press it on the consideration of Congress. Congress has taken care of the officers, and they are left to take care of the men. Whether this is founded in unison with the principles of free government, or not, I shall leave to be decided by the wisdom of the American people.

The money that is procured for the articles bought from the purser, and sold again at such enormous discount, is generally used for the very worst purposes,—which is either to purchase liquor—smuggled on board—or given to prostitutes. When I was on board the ship of the line Delaware, the first cruise in the Mediterranean, while in Port Mahon, these women were allowed to come on board twice each week, and I have seen five hundred of those lost, degraded creatures, on board at a time ; and if there is a demoralizing spectacle to be looked upon, that was one. All the decks full of them—between the guns and in every direction were these women to be seen with the seamen ; and such things I believe are still allowed in that port, and others on that station. Another disgusting spectacle was, when the women come on board in the evening, the master at arms and ship corporals stand in the gangway as they come over, and pass their hands over every part of their persons to see that they do not smuggle liquor on board. In the morning, before they leave the ship, they go through the same

examination, to prevent their carrying away any of the men's clothing; but, notwithstanding, they easily contrive to conceal round their body, or under their under-clothes, the reward of their prostitution, which may be a piece of silk handkerchiefs, a piece of linen, a gown pattern, or a couple of yards of broad-cloth. These presents are made to the manifest injury of the donor, both as may regard morals and health, but to the advantage of the purser, and disgrace of the service. It surely is the duty of the government to prevent such disgraceful proceedings, which are so fatal to morals and health. Many men have contracted the seeds of a disease that rendered them loathsome to themselves and others while living, and consigned them to an early grave, under the express sanction of the present customs of the navy. How chaplains can acquit themselves for not exposing such lewdness and debauchery, is left for the reverend gentlemen to say. They cannot plead ignorance, for such things take place two or three times a week, on board of the most of our vessels of war, when in Port Mahon, Messina, Palermo, and Syracuse.

The Delaware lay six months in Port Mahon, at her anchors, until she nearly grounded upon the beef bones thrown overboard from her, without the crew ever having liberty to go on shore. Whether it was most prudent to keep the men cooped up like wild beasts in a menagerie, and allowing those women to come on board, and thereby turning that splendid ship into a floating brothel, of the lowest description, is left to the public to decide. The Java frigate, Capt. Downes, made ten cruises where the Delaware made one, but her crew always had liberty, on their arrival in port, when the public service would admit of it; but the crew of the Delaware never had liberty except once, which was only a short time before leaving Port Mahon to return to the United States; yet many of the crew re-entered for the Java and Lexington, and were in debt after having been two years on the station. The whole of the dry goods stores in Washington Street, do not transact as much business in a week as was done in the purser's store-room of that ship in the two or three days previous to her sailing. Several thousand dollars worth of goods were disposed of. There

was no waiting to dispute about prices or change; give the name, take a piece of linen, gown pattern, or a piece of bandana silk handkerchiefs, and walk off.

It may be said that there are many men who come home with three, four, and sometimes five hundred dollars, due them. This is the truth; but these are wary old dogs, who, by dint of cooking, washing and sewing, for the less experienced hands, are enabled to save the whole of their pay; because they procure from others what they require, such as tea, sugar, tobacco, &c., for their services; but some one is the sufferer. When the frigate *Java* returned to Norfolk, Va., there were many of her crew who had been absent from the United States four and five years, and many of them were in debt. I was told, by one who knew, that \$1,000 paid eighty of her crew. Some idea ✓ may be formed of the profits of the purser, when it is stated that the purser's steward, out of his share, was enabled to purchase a brig, and brought her on to Boston. He had, exclusive of that, cash, trinkets, and a wardrobe, that few officers in the navy could equal. In the present state of things, if a seaman has a mother, wife, or sister, to whom he wishes to leave a part of his pay, as is often the case, he will, unless very economical, return home without a dollar due him. The leaving of allotments by seamen in the navy, is allowed for a very worthy purpose; but it often happens that they are left for an unworthy end. I have known a lewd woman to have five different tickets of this sort, which left her in possession of thirty dollars per month, to spend in drunkenness and dissipation; but in just such ways do seamen's hard earnings go, and just so they will go until some efficient method is put in force to do away with impositions, of which they are daily made the dupes. But admitting that seamen will spend their money foolishly when on shore, or be robbed of it by crimps and landlords, that is no reason why a few men should be allowed to enrich themselves at their expense when they are on board of their vessels. Two wrongs never made a right.

It will be said, by those who wish to criticise this production, that our seamen are better paid than the seamen of Great Britain, from which we are so fond of drawing comparisons.

That they receive a greater sum total per month I will admit, but that they can save as much during a three years' cruise I deny. I have made inquiry at different times into the regulations of the British navy, and have found that an English man-of-war's man cannot purchase things of a purser to sell again, nor can he dispose of any article of his clothing without being detected and punished, nor can he draw the smallest article from the purser without a written order from the officer of his division. There is such a regulation in our navy, and I have seen it put in force at the commencement of a cruise, but it soon became a dead letter. Every article required for the seamen of the British navy is furnished by the government, and upon which the purser has only a very small per centage; and, owing to the articles being much cheaper in that country than in the United States, a seaman is enabled to save a greater portion of his wages. The tobacco furnished them is the Virginia leaf, taken from the king's stores, without any duty having been imposed upon it. This is a liberal method of dealing with men whose monthly pay is small. In fact, they are better paid at present than they would be were they to receive the same pay of our seamen, and be subjected to the same monopoly. When they purchase cloth or duck there, buttons, thread, &c. are given in, without any additional charge; but in our navy all these necessary articles have to be purchased separate. It is a matter of indifference to the pursers of our navy, whether they purchase the articles required by the seamen at a high or low price; they put on the per centage allowed by law, and the seamen alone are the sufferers. The seaman may not wish to purchase the article at the high price charged him for it, but there is no alternative, he is buying with his own hard-earned money, but he has not that money in his hand, nor can he get it to purchase elsewhere; he cannot do without clothing, and therefore must pay the price demanded, no matter how extravagant it may be. Suppose, for instance, that fifty seamen want each to get a suit of blue cloth; a tailor is sent on board to measure them, he has his profits, and if he sells each suit to the purser for eighteen dollars, the purser sticks on his fifty per cent. and delivers them to the crew; and

the capital with which this speculation is carried on is not private funds, but public money; for the purser, at the end of every six months, takes credit to himself for all issues to the crew, and draws upon the department or a navy agent, just for such sums as he may require. The officers are not affected by the purser's privileges, they are entitled to their pay every month, and can always purchase what they want on shore. Had it affected them, the law would have been altered long ago; but as it only concerns the poor friendless seamen, it remains unaltered, because those who are benefitted by it have greater influence than those whom it injures. Money gives a man or any body of men influence, and certainly pursers have an easy method of procuring it; two cruises in a large ship will leave a purser independent, and this is the more grievous when it is considered that they enrich themselves at the expense of a class of men who are ill able to afford it, and whose families are suffering from want, or, in all probability, supported by the public as inmates of a poor house. I heard it asserted by an officer, that the purser of the Delaware cleared a profit of at least \$60,000, and he who made the remark done so for no other motive but that of compassion for those who were the sufferers. When Capt. Mix joined that ship, as first lieutenant, he gave an order that no article should be issued to any of the crew by the purser, without a written order from him or the officers of the divisions; but this order was violated. When the purser's steward knew that the first lieutenant would not be coming round the deck, in the evening or at other times, he would open the store-room, and in a short time issue goods to the amount of a thousand dollars or more. This can soon be done, when a man has only to give his name. There was one person charging the individuals with goods, while another was delivering them. I do not mean to say that the purser of that ship ordered this to be done, but he could scarcely be ignorant of it; he knew that a case of *gold watches* were brought on board, and when they were all gone he must have known that some persons had bought them—and he could have no reason to suppose that the officers did, with whom he daily messed—and the midshipmen could not afford gold watches, when their

pay was only nineteen dollars per month. The purser of that ship had a clerk and steward both ; the latter received eighteen dollars per month from the government, and the former received his salary from the purser, and was not borne on the ship's books, at all.

Some purser's stewards have been enabled to support themselves in a style far above lieutenants or other commissioned officers. I have known one to have a private box in the opera, and be courted and carressed by foreigners for distribution that he had of seamen's money. From these facts which are stated, it will easily be obvious to every man that there are evils in this department which ought to be corrected. I am fully aware of the censure that I may receive for exposing this and other abuses, and the illiberal allusions that will follow. I well know also that truth can only be found by slow and painful progress, and that error is flippant and compendious. It hops with airy and fastidious levity over proofs and arguments, and perches upon assertion, which it calls conclusion.

CHAPTER IV.

Slop clothing furnished by the government—the losses thereon—its uselessness from being badly made, badly cut, and bad materials—necessity of purchasing private goods from the purser, and the sacrifices made by *green* hands to have them made up—navy commissioners to blame for slop clothing being unsuitable—remarks on that subject—the North Carolina's pay bill—total credit balance due, and purser's profits estimated.

THE clothing furnished by the government for the use of the seamen of the navy are denominated slops. These articles consist of mattresses, blankets, pea jackets, blue cloth jackets, blue cloth trowsers, duck frocks, duck trowsers, flannel shirts, flannel drawers, shoes, stockings, and black silk handkerchiefs. This clothing is, I believe, generally made up in some of the state prisons, and in the most wretched manner, so much so that every man-of-war's man has to sew them over before they are worn, or immediately afterwards.

It certainly is not a very laudable plan to have clothing made in state prisons for seamen, when there are so many of their wives and daughters destitute, and cannot procure the employment that is by this means taken from them. While benevolent ladies are spending money and time to find them employment, straining every nerve to make them happy and respected, and endeavoring to exalt them by industry and independence, the United States is getting the clothing for seamen made in state prisons. Seamen have to pay for the making of this clothing, and certainly they would do so with a better grace if they knew that the money so paid went to the support of an indigent sailor's widow or daughter. This is not all, this clothing is both badly made and badly cut. I never saw a slop jacket or trowsers that ever fitted a man; and they are not in compliance with any regulation; on the contrary they must all be altered to comply with the usage of the service. The blue jackets and trowsers "fit like a purser's shirt on a handspike." The duck frocks and trowsers are unbleached, and not fit to be worn at inspection or Sunday musters. All man-of-war's men must have the collars of their frocks lined with blue nankeen, two rows of tape on the same, and sometimes a star in the corner, according to the fancy of the commanding officer of the ship to which they are attached. This is as it should be, uniformity is necessary, and adds to the appearance of any body of men, but this uniform ought to be made on shore, and who so proper to do it as seamen's wives or daughters? There are many old men-of-war's men who can do their own sewing, and in needle work would put many a female to the blush. Yet these are by far the fewest number, there are hundreds of what are termed *green hands*, (or men who have never been to sea before,) who ship in the navy every year. These men perhaps never sewed a button on in their lives, and how can they be expected to make their own clothes? Their clothes must be made, and the more experienced hands have to do it for them; but they must be paid for doing so. Tea and sugar for a month, which possibly may cost \$1.50 is often given for making a shirt or pair of trowsers, when the same could be done by a female for two shillings.

It has often been a matter of surprise to me what these articles are put on board for; an immense expense is incurred annually by their being damaged by mice, moths, &c.; they are then surveyed, condemned, and sold for the benefit of "Uncle Sam;" they were never worth much, but then they are literally worth nothing, and are very frequently sold for one-tenth of their original cost. When I was in Norfolk, (Va.) in 1831, a lady with whom I boarded, who kept a clothing store, purchased a quantity of damaged slop clothing for eighty, that cost the government at least one thousand dollars; she sold them again to people for clothing for their slaves, and realized a very handsome profit; but if it had not been in a slave state I am ignorant of any who would purchase such clothing, unless to distribute gratuitously. Hundreds of bales of this clothing are laying in our navy yards and in foreign storehouses perishing on the hands of the government, and for what use or purpose, but to add to the pampered wealth of some fat contractor, who is putting in his pocket the people's money, which would certainly be more profitably expended in furnishing employment to destitute females, of which there are but too many in all our large seaports; and the want of proper employment for them, by which they could earn enough to keep them from starving, is but too often the forerunner of crime. I well know that there is not a man-of-war's man, that has any pride, would go on shore on liberty with a slop jacket or trowsers on; thereby it becomes necessary that seamen should have other clothing, and for that reason the pursers have sheeting &c. of their own to dispose of to the crew. The shoes are pegged, and of such wretched materials that after being wet in salt water and worn two or three times up and down the rigging, they spread out so as to cover as much of the deck as a shot box would. In consequence of this the pursers must buy other shoes, and those belonging to the government are tossed over for three years and then returned to the navy yard, on the return of the ship, to be condemned. These articles are invariably made in state prisons. The pea jackets are the only articles that are fit to be worn, and only such of those as are made of drab colored cloth; those that are made of what is

called blue cloth are very near as good to keep out rain as dyed blanket would be. I was ten years in the navy, the greater part of that time as a seaman and petty officer, and I never wore a slop jacket; in fact the whole slop clothing that I purchased during that time did not perhaps amount to fifty dollars, and my case was by no means a rare one. Some more efficient regulation should be made respecting clothing, by which the government would be saved an enormous expense; although a per centage is charged upon the slops when they are sold to the men, yet that by no means makes up the loss. And in the name of common sense, after what pattern are they made? none certainly that ever I saw on a seaman's back. The frocks have a small square collar, about the size of a shirt collar, when every person who ever saw a man-of-war's man, well knows that the collars worn by them are large enough to turn back over the shoulders. The jackets are made after no model or draft in use since the days of "Commodore Trunnion," (farther back than that I dare not venture,) some of them have standing collars and slashed sleeves. The buttons were perhaps once what may have been termed gilt, but every vestige of that has disappeared before they are opened out of the bale. The buttons on the duck trowsers are made of wood, by way of encouraging home growth, there being plenty of that in our forests—in faith, the whole is glorious humbug.

I presume the honorable commissioners of the navy are to blame for this waste and nonsense. We yearly see long advertisements in the newspapers stating that "sealed proposals will be received for" so and so, until such a time. God help the little navy if all contracts are as poorly complied with as that of slop clothing. I would ask those gentlemen where they got the pattern for this clothing? As they do not see many seamen at Washington I presume they have got one carved out of wood, to draft from. Did ever any of them, when they commanded sea going vessels, (which, gentle reader is a long time ago,) see a sailor at muster with an unbleached shirt, with no nankin on the collar, and that only three or four inches broad? if they did, they have beat me, and I am well satisfied

that I have seen more seamen, and sea service than they have in the last thirty years, at all events. I would not wish to inflict any greater punishment on them, however, for their negligence to affairs concerning seamen, than to see them at the president's levee, or round the navy board, dressed in slop jackets, frocks and trowsers. It would be *mutiny* for me to laugh (at those who were once my superiors, but who will never control me again) but really I do believe I should be guilty of that breach of decorum. Gentlemen, pardon, this is the first time I ever paid you my *distresses*, I think your suit becomes you much. I wish you a long life to wear many such.

There is a "Seaman's Aid Society" established in Boston, conducted by benevolent ladies, the object of which is to procure employment for seamen's wives, widows, and daughters, and thereby to prevent them from becoming a burthen to themselves, or the public. Surely it were better and more laudable to have seamen's clothing that is required for the use of the navy made by such an establishment when the profits are expended in so benevolent a manner. But at present the contract is given to those who make the clothing worst, by which niggardly economy, the government in the end becomes the loser to a large amount. Whereas, if the clothing was well made, the frocks lined with blue nankin on the collar, &c. the crews would find it to their advantage to purchase them, and no loss would be sustained, and the necessity of purchasing the purser's private stock would be left optional with the purchaser, but at present the duck trousers are made to come nearly up to a man's neck and fitted for suspenders. Who ever saw a man-of-war's man with suspenders, on board of a ship? I never did. Some poor lean creature just fresh from the country, who has not his clothing made to fit him, may wear them for a time, but it rarely happens, unless that some creature has no hip bones to keep his trousers up, but is built flush fore and aft like a barber's razor strop. It would be just as natural for a man-of-war's man, to look for a shin cleat to belay his stocking halliards to, as to ask for a pair of suspenders. In the meantime, until some other law is made respecting this evil,

the custom of pursers ought to be solicited to assist such establishments. It is a matter of indifference to them to whom they pay their money for goods, and I am well aware that they would purchase from ladies, in preference to giving their money to those who could afford to lose their custom without suffering any inconvenience therefrom. Gallantry and benevolence would induce the pursers to do this, for those gentlemen are not destitute of either, and their co-operation and influence ought to be solicited until some more efficient law is made respecting slop clothing.

The U. S. ship North Carolina, has arrived in New York recently, and by an article in the "Boston Daily Times," it appears that the balance due on the pay roll is \$108,000 for a crew of 700 men: this I presume has found its way into the papers from the circumstance of its being an unusual large amount. On the Pacific station the seamen have less opportunity to spend their wages than on any other, which may account for it. When the U. S. frigate Constitution arrived in Boston in 1828, from the Mediterranean, Lieut. Randolph drew on the department for 8000 dollars to pay the officers and crew, and after doing so, had 4 or 5000 dollars left in his own hands; this too, after the vessel had been absent nearly four years. The North Carolina's crew are nearly three years shipped although she has only been absent two years; and supposing the medium to be thirty-three months, let us see how the account will stand.

CREW OF THE NORTH CAROLINA,				Cr.
70	Petty officers before being rated at seamen's pay, \$12 for 9 months	\$108	by 70=	\$ 7,560
70	" after " average pay	16 " 24 "	384 "	70= 26,880
300	Seamen at	19 " 33 "	396 "	300=118,800
230	Ordinary seamen at	10 " 38 "	330 "	230= 75,900
100	Landsmen and boys,	8 " 33 "	264 "	100= 26,400
100	Mariners, average pay,	8 " 24 "	192 "	100= 19,200
Total Credit for pay				\$275,740
				Dr.
370	Seamen and petty officers to amount of advance,	\$26 each is	\$	13,320
230	Ordinary seamen,	30 "		6,900
100	Landsmen and boys,	24 "		2,400
Amount advanced by purser in slops and luxuries,				145,120
" Remaining unpaid,				108,000
				\$275,740

By this it would appear that the sum of \$145,120 has been taken from these men since they shipped, for goods purchased from the purser. Upon articles so purchased there is charged by law ten, twenty-five and fifty per cent more than cost; the articles upon which ten and twenty-five per cent is charged, are less used than those denominated luxuries, which pays the purser fifty per cent, and it would be reasonable to allow the profits upon the whole to be forty per cent. If this is the case pursers have cleared from that crew the enormous sum of \$58,048 in three years, exclusive of profits on goods sold to officers. At this rate a purser's situation is preferable to that of President of the United States, for the purser pays no more towards his mess than a lieutenant or master. I have not made the above statements to prove that the purser of that ship has done any thing that is wrong; but I wish to shew that the law is radically bad and ought to be amended. If from amongst that seven hundred men and one hundred marines, there were two hundred and fifty that had saved three hundred dollars each, as in all probability is the case, it would require \$75,000 to pay them, and leave \$33,000 to be divided among the remaining five hundred and fifty, which would give the enormous sum of sixty dollars for their thirty-three months servitude. From this any man open to conviction may see what an error there must be in the present system in the navy, and what a small amount may fall to an individual's share, although the sum total \$108,000, is very considerable. "It is presumed that pursers of the navy do nothing but what they are justified in doing, by law and usage. The question is not with them, but whether the *law* and *usage* are right? it must strike any man of mere common sense, and who never had the means of information from actual service, as a curious fact, that where men are supplied with rations, and can, apparently, want nothing but garments, that there should be such a thing as money-making, under sanction of the government, in a traffic carried on between a purser and a crew." This is an extract from a small work before me, and many will concur with the author in the opinion.

CHAPTER V.

Naval ration—when regulated by law—changes since that time in public feeling with regard to spirits—evil tendency of the ration by encouraging drunkenness—mistaken idea respecting seamen shipping for *grog*—injury to seamen from not receiving small stores—pay of seamen in the navy compared with that of the merchant service—hints respecting the ration—want of seamen caused by the present system, and benefit likely to be derived from remodeling the ration and discontinuing spirits.

THE navy ration was regulated by law on the third of March, 1801, now thirty-eight years ago. Since that time several motions have been made in Congress to remodel it, but without effect. I know of no evil which so much requires the action of Congress as this. During the last thirty-eight years great changes have been made in the civil, military, and naval affairs, and that which so much requires revising has been neglected. Corporeal punishment, which has been so much censured by the citizens of our country, as being degrading and incompatible with the principles of our free institutions and government, is perhaps not so productive of pernicious effects, as the tendency of the ration issued by law. The very ration which is at present allowed is the cause of degrading punishments; our citizens have looked at the effects without being able to form any just opinion as to the cause. Great efforts have lately been made to suppress the evil of intemperance, and that vice as it exists in the public service, must certainly be entitled to some degree of public notice. The present ration directly favors intemperance, and counteracts every effort made by philanthropic individuals to better the condition of seamen, by raising them to that standing in a moral point of view, to which their services so much entitle them, in a political sense. As long as the ration remains as it now is, an appetite will be created for strong drink, and that appetite will increase, just as long as the means of administering to it can be procured; and just so long as that is the case, every means and plan of reformation will be rendered abortive. Take

that away and the minds of seamen will be fitted to receive that instruction, which they stand so much in need of. A seaman who has for the period of three years drank half a pint of ardent spirits every day, has acquired a habit that will, in seven cases out of ten, only end with life, and that life will be shortened in proportion to the quantity of spirits consumed. In the navy at present, if a seaman is in conversation, no matter with whom, he will leave them the moment that the drum rolls, and run for his grog, quaff the fatal drug, and return. But this is not done in all cases because the individual really believes that he is benefitted by drinking spirits, but because it is allowed him by law as a part of his ration, and he does not wish to lose it, or that by long habit has become so used to it that he cannot voluntarily lay it aside. The experiments tried on board of many of our merchant vessels, fully prove that seamen may be brought by custom and usage to dispense with grog. There are not any more seamen ship in the navy, where they know they will get grog, than did before it was discontinued in merchant vessels, and vessels find no more difficulty in procuring crews to man them, than when grog was allowed on board of them. It has also been clearly proved to the public that fewer shipwrecks and disasters occur now than formerly. I know it to be a fact that seamen in the merchant service, when going to ship, never think of asking whether they are to be allowed grog or not, but naturally expect that they will not. The navy does not ship one seaman more now in a year, than when merchant ships gave their crews grog, which must go to prove that that is not what induces them to enter. Was the navy ration remodeled and the pay of seamen increased two or three dollars per month, the secretary of the navy would not have to complain that seamen could not be procured for the exploring, or any other expedition. If we cannot ship seamen enough to man the few ships that we keep in commission for the protection of our commerce, what are we to do in case of war, when we shall require ten times the number that we now employ? If it is a fact that we cannot get seamen enough for our present limited number of vessels of war, it ought not to be published to the

world, but a remedy applied in some shape or other. "Tell it not in Gath nor let the sound reach Askelon, lest the Philistines rejoice," that the United States, that boasts so much of her naval excellency, cannot ship seamen enough to man two or three frigates and ten or twelve sloops of war. In case of war many seamen would enter the navy for the honor of serving their country in the hour of need; but it never will be for the scanty pittance that they receive. But the number that would so enter, would by no means be sufficient, and Congress would have to adopt measures which would cripple our commerce and embarrass our merchants. Let some evils and grievances be removed and redressed with regard to the navy, and seamen will ship in it. If not, we shall find out, when too late, the value and the want of the men whose interests have been so shamefully neglected.

In the event of a war, our merchants and ship owners ought not to be made the sufferers; they at present bring up enough seamen for their purposes, and a demand for them in the merchant service would not greatly increase in time of war; some hundreds would perhaps be required for privateers, but this would be the only increase of demand. It is the navy that is to blame; the merchants make seamen for the navy, but the navy seldom makes a seaman for the merchant service. The great evil which exists at present in the navy ration is allowing seamen half a pint of ardent spirits per day—an article that they do not require—and not giving them tea and sugar, articles that they do require. Tea and sugar are so commonly used, that although classed with luxuries, they ought rather to be classed with necessities. Soap is so indispensibly necessary to promote cleanliness, that it ought to be a part of the ration in the navy as well as in the army. These articles are not allowed by the government, and yet must be used, and purchased by the seamen out of their pay, at the rate of fifty per cent. higher than they could be purchased on shore, so that the pay of a seaman in the navy, at twelve dollars per month, is no more to him than ten dollars per month would be in the merchant service; nor so much, for the former has always to dress neat and appear clean, whereas the latter can wear such

clothing as he thinks proper; two flannel shirts and two pair of canvass trowsers will last him a nine month's voyage. Let these things be considered, and cease to wonder why we cannot get seamen for the navy. The revenue cutter service is a branch of our public service. There the officers have less pay, and the seamen have more than those of the navy; and why should that be? There is never any want of seamen for the revenue service, for there they only ship for six months, and are employed on our coast, where they can have frequent communication with their friends, and are allowed greater indulgences than in the navy, where they have to go to foreign countries for three years, away from home and friends, and often exposed to sickness unknown on our coast. Why those who suffer most should have the least pay, is a mystery that will not be very easily solved, unless it is asserted that the navy is the most honorable and popular of the two; but honor and popularity are sounds that are not much prized by seamen and on which they would find it hard to dine or sup. In the revenue service they do not give the seamen grog, but they allow them tea and sugar, which ought to show that the former should be abolished and the latter given in the navy, for the seamen do not require one more, nor the other less, in either of the services.

I was on board one vessel and knew it to be the case in another, where the captain gave an order that no man who was in debt to the government, should be allowed to draw a single article from the purser unless he stopped his grog to pay for it. Many were in debt, and sooner than go without tea, sugar, and soap, they relinquished their spirits to pay for them. If a man voluntarily stops his grog he is entitled to six cents per day in lieu of it. And if Congress will pass a law at the next session to give the seamen tea, sugar and soap, as a part of their ration, increase their pay two dollars per month and take away their spirits, paying them at the rate of two dollars per month, on the first of every month for it, the navy will never have to complain of a want of seamen. Their grog will be cheaply purchased at any price, and the money paid them monthly for it, will be sufficient for spending money, and will prevent them from buy-

ing clothing or other articles to sell again at such sacrifices as has already been stated. The citizens of the United States will never hesitate to pay public money to purchase public happiness, but just so long as spirits are allowed, all attempts to improve the man-of-war's man will be time and labor lost. Private individuals and societies may build up, but the law will pull down, destroy and trample the very foundation of the goodly fabric into the dust. The law allows the seaman half a pint of spirits a day, and directs him to be flogged if he gets drunk. This is a manifest contradiction; give a man spirits and punish him for drinking it. It is very wrong and improper to keep money from seamen for three years; they ought to be allowed a part of their pay, and it would answer a much better purpose to give them a certain sum monthly, than give them all they may save in three years at one time to be spent in drunkenness and debauchery. At present the pursers while on foreign stations draw bills on the government, and the money is spent out of the country, although they do not receive it in cash; so that that can be no objection, for the seamen if they had money advanced would have no occasion to use any subterfuge to get it, and would lay it out in many little articles of which they are at present deprived. It often happens that there are seamen who have friends or relations to whom they would wish to bring or send some small presents, but as it is now, they cannot do so, for want of the means to purchase with. There is never any money given to them except when they are going on liberty and then only two or three dollars. How treasured a small article would be (brought from a foreign country) by the parents, wife, or sister, of a seaman. A tiny thing would save a beloved one from oblivion; it would be treasured as a relic; it would serve to show that although away from them, they had not been forgotten. A dress brought from a foreign land, by a husband, son, or brother, would be more prized by a wife, mother, or sister, than the finest one that could be purchased in our own country, though of less value. Why, then, deprive a seaman of doing such an action? or why deprive those for whom such an article might be brought home, the

pleasure they would experience in receiving such a gift? To deprive a man of the means of doing good in this manner is shutting up the flood-gates of his heart, searing his feelings which would have been exerted in doing good and conferring happiness. It is but too often the case that seamen have been wild, imprudent young men, but does the affectionate mother love them less on that account? no, when the rest of her children are by her side at her board, she heaves a sigh for the absent one; the unbidden tear waters her eyelids when she sees a seaman pass her door,—her thoughts turn upon him that is far away. The pillow is never pressed by her weary head but what she thinks of him; she never awakes and hears the storm raging without, but what she dreads that her absent one may fall a victim to its rage. To deprive the one so beloved and so much thought of, the satisfaction of proving that that parent's love and interest was reciprocated, is barbarous. This is not the case in a merchant vessel; the seamen there, are allowed one third of the amount due them at every port of delivery. Why are the seamen of the navy deprived of similar laws? When the poor seaman returns after a three years' cruise to his paternal hearth or the arms of an affectionate wife, would not the eyes of his dearest friends sparkle when he drew from his chest some token, some pledge of his remembrance.

There is another reason, and a very powerful one, too, why the ration should be remodelled and the pay increased; and that is, it would prevent desertion. If the seamen got no grog while on board, they would be less likely to think of it when on shore, in boats, or on duty, and to obtain which, they often commit a breach of discipline, and, for fear of the consequences that are to ensue, they desert. It very rarely happens that a seaman deserts when he is sober. That offence, like many others, has but too often its origin in drunkenness. If seamen were allowed money, they would not have to sacrifice their wages to procure it, and when they had it due they would not run away and leave it. It is when they are in debt after many months' servitude, that induces them to run. They are disheartened and escape when an opportunity offers, with a view to better themselves elsewhere. Some years ago they took

half of the allowance of spirits from the seamen of the British navy, and now pay them either monthly, or quarterly for it; they only receive one gill per day at the present time, and I have never heard that the measure was productive of any but the most favorable results.

When the law respecting the present ration in our navy was enacted, it was customary for the officers to have private liquor cases in their state rooms, and the same was the case when I first joined the navy; but now such a thing is unknown. Many of the naval officers are entirely abstemious; many temperate, and only a very few otherwise, and the feeling against drinking ardent spirits is becoming so strong that those who do drink to excess will have to quit the service or leave it aside. I do not mean to impeach the character of many of our navy officers with intemperance, but there are exceptions to all general rules. Perfection is not to be expected; to come as near it as we can, ought to be our object. When I was in the *Lexington*, on the coast of Brazil, nearly all the midshipmen drew the allowance of spirits to which they were entitled by law. I do not mean to say that they all drank it; but some one did, either hammock boys or some one else. Our old stock of seamen are dying off, as is to be expected, and it becomes the duty of the government to guard those that are to follow them against the failing and vices of their predecessors. They may inherit all their manly spirit and daring courage without their bad habits,—which have brought many of them to a premature grave. I have stated in a small tract published on intemperance—how half a pint of ardent spirits per day affected me when I first entered the navy, and I have every reason to believe that it affects all others in the same way; and if so, to stop the spirits on board of our vessels of war becomes a private, public and christian duty. There is another very important reason, why spirits should be discontinued, in addition to those already enumerated, which ought to be duly considered. When a seaman is on the sick report, on board of a vessel of war, his grog is stopped by order of the surgeon, as drinking it would prevent the system from concurring with the use of medicine. This induces many to allow a certain disease, which is common to

seamen, to prey on them until it becomes so wrought into the system, that very often it never can be thoroughly eradicated, or at least not without subjecting the sufferer to a course of medicine, and use of mercury, which destroys his constitution for ever. When this disease is first discovered by an individual, it might easily be cured by a proper use of medicine, but he will not report himself, nor state his situation to the surgeon, for by so doing his grog would be stopped. It also often happens that men when they are on the sick list, represent themselves to the surgeon to be in a much better state than they actually are, in order to get off the sick list, so that they can draw their grog again. They may go off the sick list, drink their grog, and drive round the decks for a time, and at length are compelled to go on the surgeon's hands again, in a great deal worse state than what they were in the first place. When asked why they do not go on the sick report, they reply, "do you think I want to lose my grog." This is the reason why there are so many aggravated cases of this disease on board of our vessels of war. The surgeon is not aware of its existence until it has gone so far as to defy his skill and the power of medicine, except such as, if used, will ruin the constitution. I have known many instances of this nature, and every surgeon in the navy will confirm the same. Drunkenness leads to many other vices, especially lying. I heard the late Captain Mix say that he never would ask a man brought before him for drunkenness, where he got his liquor, for said he, "he will be sure to tell me that he found it under a gun, or some other improper story, thereby adding falsehood to his other offence." In the British navy, the spirits are mixed, one pint of spirits to two of water, but in ours it is frequently served in its pure state in the morning, and what can be more pernicious than drinking one-third of half a pint of spirits on an empty stomach? We have at present at all our naval stations, a number of boys shipped for the navy. By taking away spirits from seamen, these youth when they arrive at manhood, will never think of drinking. But let it be daily served before their eyes, and when they arrive at man's years, they will think they ought to drink as a matter of course, and will be of opinion that it will form a

very necessary requisite in the character of a seaman. This very period is a time pregnant with every good to the navy and country, and this period ought to be taken advantage of by abolishing the use of ardent spirits as a part of the ration. Every friend to the navy and to seamen ought to make every exertion and strain every nerve, for if this favorable opportunity is lost to improve the character of men-of-war's men, it will not be regained ; the breeze will be lost that would have carried them safely through.

I cannot quit this subject without remarking that I never have known spirits brought on board of a man-of-war or merchant vessel by the crew, but that it was productive of some mischief, either disturbances amongst themselves or with the officers, and frequently both ; and very often have I known it to lead to punishments which otherwise would not have taken place. The liquor served in the navy by law, may not produce drunkenness, but it exhilarates the crew so as to make them talkative and noisy ; for a proof of which let any person go on board of one of our vessels of war before the drum rolls to grog and see what harmony and quietness there is among so many men ; half an hour afterwards all is confusion and noise. It would appear as if every tongue was talking ; the officer of the deck may have ordered silence a dozen times, and without effect. The brain is in a whirl with the effects of the liquor just drank. This I have often noticed and heard remarked. By abolishing the use of spirits entirely in the navy, the constitutions of those who have suffered from its devouring effects will be enabled to recover their wonted elasticity, and it will prevent those entering the service from falling victims to its ravages. On board of several vessels in the navy many men have been induced by their commanders voluntarily to relinquish their spirits, and a great inducement for them to do so was to have the money paid to them for it. But that is not always done, and sometimes if any thing goes wrong aloft the topmen are called down and those who do not draw their grog are whipped, while others who do, have it stopped ; so the former to save his back, draws his grog again.

CHAPTER VI.

Want of native seamen—to the extent that it proceeds—abuses respecting protections, and the neglect of Custom House officers with regard to examining into the abuses—leaving seamen abroad—reasons for not taking apprentices in the merchant service—benefit likely to be derived from taking apprentices, and plan for the same—seamen of the navy, how instructed in their duty—false statements made by former secretaries of the navy respecting the popularity of the navy with seamen, and the injury which has arisen therefrom.

THE want of native seamen for the navy and merchant service, has long been felt ; but none, except those who are thoroughly acquainted with both services, are aware to what an extent this evil really exists. The seamen employed in the coasting and fishing trade, are, in all probability, three-fourths naturalized, or native seamen ; but in the navy and merchant service not one third are so. This may appear somewhat surprising, when it is considered that there is a law in existence which declares, that all American ships shall be fully officered, and two-thirds of each crew must be American citizens, and such proof shall be produced, signed by the collector of some port in the United States ; but this is easily elucidated, by showing how this law is evaded, and how these certificates of citizenship are procured—which are usually called protections. Before the collector of a port gives a protection of this kind, he is required, by law, to have oath made before him, by a respectable witness, that the applicant is an American citizen : but how many are there in all our large seaports, who are so destitute of every moral principle as to trifle with the most sacred obligations ? Sailor landlords, or many of them, at least, are ever ready to make oath to any statement, no matter how false it may be, if it will only answer their own purpose, and serve their own interest : indeed I never knew, during the whole of the time that I have been amongst seamen, that a man, who had no protection, ever failed in procuring one, by some means or other. I heard an anecdote of a landlord, who put a newly

imported Irishman into a cradle, took him out, carried him before the collector, and made oath that he, the Irishman, was an American, and that he, the landlord, rocked him in the cradle. That false affidavits are taken, out of number, to procure these protections, every master of a merchant ship can attest; for it is no uncommon occurrence for men to have protections as American seamen, who have not been six months in the United States, and perhaps cannot speak the language. If he is a Frenchman, he will say that he belongs to Louisiana; if a Spaniard, that he belongs to Florida; if a Dutchman, that he was born in Pennsylvania, or somewhere about Albany;—and there is so little difference between the dialect of an American and an Englishman, that it is difficult to perceive the difference; and so long as the collector receives the proof required by law, he is not obliged to know to the contrary. In New Orleans, the greatest imposition is carried on in that way. When a ship wants a crew, her articles are sent to the shipping office, and there the seamen sign them. If any one has no protection, the landlord furnishes him with one, for a couple of dollars, belonging to some other person, and by whose name he ships; and very often that protection has been stolen from the rightful owner. In many cases captains have protections belonging to seamen who have run away from them, or died, and if seamen who have no protections are scarce, they will use those for them, in preference to waiting, after they are ready for sea, to get a crew of citizens. I am under the impression that masters of vessels have to make oath in the Custom House, before clearing out for a foreign voyage, that all their officers and two-thirds of their crew are citizens of the United States. If this is the case, I wonder if he does not consider himself a perjured man, and as such, liable to punishment; for many masters of vessels do clear out, when they are well convinced that the law has not been complied with. I made a voyage to Havre, from New Orleans, and there was only one citizen besides myself in the fore-castle. His name was George Bartlett, of Charlestown, Mass., and if he is in the vicinity, he can testify to the fact. On our return, an officer of the customs came on board, above the English turn, to examine our articles. The crew were told

by the mate, when the officer was in the cabin, to answer to such names as he told them. The officer called these names over, and the crew answered to them. He had protections in his hand, given him by the captain, and had he compared the men's features, age, height, &c., he could easily have detected the fraud; but he was an old man, and did not appear to take any trouble. The false articles, from which the officer called the names, had been made out for the purpose.

The next merchant vessel I went on board of was the brig Charles Joseph, of Providence. There, too, we had only two American citizens, but there were protections on board for the rest. Two of these men had never seen, nor signed the articles, but simply agreed to come on board, and did so in a hurry. Five of these men left us in Leghorn. They were not discharged, but were paid what was due them, suffered to take their clothing, and depart; and Italians and other foreigners shipped in their stead. In this case there were three violations of the law. First, the captain had no right to testify, on oath, that two-thirds of his crew were citizens, when he had never seen them. Second, he had no right to receive them on board, unless they had signed articles; and, thirdly, he had no authority to leave them in a foreign port. If they came on board under false protections, it was his duty to bring them home in the vessel, and give up their protections to the custom house officer or collector. What statement he made relative to the men left abroad, I know not. The officer who came on board in Philadelphia, when the vessel arrived, only remained a few minutes. I knew that the law had been violated, and that I was entitled to one half of the fine, if I had caused the captain to be sued; but I never mentioned the circumstance to any one but himself. He was going on to New Orleans, to take charge of the ship Denmark, and I did not wish to give him, or Mr. Bishop, the owner, any trouble, and would not have mentioned the circumstance now, was it not to show that some plan must be adopted to remedy the evil, and do away with the cause.

In Boston and other northern ports, things may not be so bad; as it often happens that the owners or captains ship their own crews; but in New Orleans and many other ports, the cap-

tain never sees the crew until they are brought on board by the shipping officer, (very often in a deep state of intoxication,) when the vessel is ready to leave the wharf. There are many foreigners, who are good seamen and worthy fellows, that wish to remain in the country, and, if they knew the form to be gone through, could soon procure a protection, without being under the necessity of using fraud and deceit to obtain it, which would simply be by declaring their intentions, and renouncing the country of which they were formerly subjects; but as long as landlords can get their money from them and ship them off, their object is obtained.

There is a good reason at present why merchants or ship owners do not take apprentices, and thereby raise a sufficient number of native seamen, to navigate our merchant ships and man our navy, unless such a measure was put in force by law, and thereby made general throughout the United States. A boy on board of a vessel for the first two years, would only earn his victuals and clothing; the third year he would earn wages; and the fourth year, be as good on most occasions as an able seaman. But at present, if a ship owner or captain takes a boy, he will only remain with him until his services become of some value, and then run away, and ship for an ordinary seaman on board of some other vessel. But if all ships carried apprentices, agreeable to their tonnage, runaways could not obtain employment; and-by that means would be under the necessity of serving their time out faithfully, which ought never to be less than four years, for that time is absolutely necessary to fully instruct a youth in the various duties of a seaman. If fifteen years of age when he was bound, (and none ought to go to sea younger,) he ought to serve five years; if sixteen, four years and a half; and if seventeen, four years. If this plan or some other similar one was adopted, a sufficient number of seamen would spring up to supply present wants and future demands; and some law of this sort must be made, or woe to our country in case of war. The one half of the seamen that are employed in our navy and merchant service at present, are drawn hither by receiving higher wages, and have no other tie to bind them to the country, and would join our enemies to-

tomorrow, if we were at war with any nation, and that nation would give them more pay than we do. I do not mean to create any unfavorable opinion against foreigners, even were it in my power to do so; but they are not the men which a nation ought to depend on, for the protection of her commerce, honor, or firesides: but we must do so, from stern necessity, until some law is passed to enable us to have those who have a home and a country, and who will be bound to us by other ties than hireling pay. The foreigners that we now employ, are English, Irish, Scotch, French, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, Spaniards, and Portuguese. These, or many of them, are good hardy tars; but they are not to be trusted to, so long as they only serve us for the money they receive. We must have citizens and natives, or woe to us: in the hour of need, our navy will be destroyed, our wealth and honor lost, and the stripes and stars will be insulted with impunity, and driven from the ocean, on which at present they wave so proudly. The navy has at length taken boys or apprentices; but that must not be looked to as a matter of any consequence, or be thought of as in any way likely to benefit the merchant service; the navy may bring up man-of-wars' men, but it cannot make such seamen as are serviceable on board of a merchant ship, unless some other method of instructing them in their duties be adopted, different from what I have ever seen. Boys in the navy may be put in the mizen top—from that to the fore and main top—and soon learn to splice a rope, or take in or make sail, smartly; but these things, however requisite, are by no means commensurate with all the duties of a seaman. I have known men in the navy for ten years, who had never been an hour at a ship's wheel, in their lives—could not steer a trick, nor swing a hand lead over their heads, nor fit a shroud, if they had been given the ship, when it was accomplished. Indeed, the fact is so notorious, that very few captains of merchant vessels will ship a man-of-war's man if they know it; and the man-of-war's man is equally cunning, for he will deny, if asked whether or not he has been in one, being well aware of the prejudice that exists against them. But, independent of their not being so thorough seamen in all respects as the merchant sailor, they have, after

being three years in the navy, acquired a habit of drinking grog, that not one in ten of them ever lays aside. I was shipmate with two man-of-war's men in a merchant ship—they were called good men in the navy, and so they were in some respects on board of any ship, but neither of them could steer as they ought to, nor could they put a patch on a sail. They had been in a top their whole time, and only knew the duty of a topman; so the navy must never be expected to bring up seamen for the wants of the merchants. It is only the forecastle men that take the wheel and lead in our vessels of war. They attend to the fore rigging also. The quarter gunners and quarter masters attend to the main rigging, and then there are only the mizen and topmast rigging for two or three hundred men to learn that part of their duty on. A man-of-war's man has never been used to pull on a fall all day, taking in or out cargo, and is soon worn out; he knows nothing about stowing or breaking out cargo in the hold; in truth he is at a loss, every which way he may turn himself. I am not hard on this class of seamen; I spent ten years with them, and I am rather in their favor; but the truth ought not to be concealed, when it becomes absolutely necessary that it should be told, in order to place it before all those who are interested in the welfare of their country, and those who are entrusted with the power, and whose duty it becomes to enact laws for her benefit and protection. Sometime ago, when I was in France, I saw an article, copied into a French paper from some of ours, that the secretary of the navy had been called upon by Congress, to know why the exploring expedition had not been despatched. The paper also stated, that seamen were very scarce for our marine, and some other circumstances which I could not properly understand, not being much acquainted with the French language. None were near me when I saw this, yet the blood mounted to my temples with shame, to think that our gallant little navy was suffering for seamen—eating its very heart's core away, as it were, and no hand stretched out to stay its ruin—members of Congress still slumbering, or indifferent to this important subject—all scrambling for offices, and devouring each other on political grounds, but no one lifting his voice to propose a remedy for any of the

evils that are laying the axe to the root of our commerce and national honor. Let them not vainly suppose that it will be the same as it was during the last war, should we have a brush with France or England. No. Our navy is now more efficient than it then was in ships and guns, but where are the men to man or work them? Must they lay all a-taunto in our harbors, for our citizens to gaze at, while the few that we may be able to send out will be captured or sunk by an overwhelming force?

Every Republic heretofore has perished from the corruption and indolence of its citizens; and we must not expect that the course of things, or nature itself, is to be changed for our especial preservation; but it would appear so, from the apathy that is evinced towards the correction of evils that are big with ruin to us, as a nation.

Year after year the secretary of the navy, in his report, has stated to Congress, that the naval service was popular among seamen, when he must have known that such an assertion was opposite to the truth, or else he must have been deceived by the reports of the officers entrusted with the duty of shipping seamen; and the latter I can scarcely believe to be the case, for the officers well know to the contrary, and have known it ever since I entered the service, at least, which was nearly fourteen years ago. Congress has been deceived by these misrepresentations, until it is almost too late, or at least until the evil has existed for so long a time that it will take many years to remedy the injury that the navy has received by these erroneous statements; in fact the want of seamen has become so notorious that the department was a short time ago compelled, very unwillingly, to confess the truth, for it could no longer be held back or disguised. If the navy was popular with seamen, as represented a short time ago, why is it become unpopular now? No new regulations have been made to cause a falling off, but on the contrary, a number of officers, who have gradually risen to command, are striving by every means in their power, to eradicate evils and abuses which were brought into the service by those who served their apprenticeship in the merchant service, and who crept into the navy through

the stern ports with an epaulet on their shoulder, and brought such rules with them as they had been accustomed to, but which were entirely out of place on board of a vessel of war. Some years ago a number of landsmen were required for the navy, and even these were recruited away back in the interior of Pennsylvania and New York, where they had never heard of a vessel of war; but there they were easily captivated by the gloss of the shipping officer's epaulet and treble gilt buttons, vainly expecting to wear such themselves in course of time, and in that hope were somewhat encouraged by those who were interested in their enlistment. At that time officers had two dollars for every man they shipped, and although no naval officer would assert a falsehood for that sum, yet they would not be so likely to contradict those that were asserted, to serve their own interests. Fancy hat ribbons were kept at the shipping office, which had a considerable effect, having painted on them in white letters, "Free trade and sailor's rights," "Naval Tar," or some other catch-the-eye motto. If the navy was popular why were landsmen not shipped on the seaboard, and the expense of transporting these men several hundred miles, saved? It must be obvious to every one, that those near our seaports were too cunning to be so caught, and the department had to practice on the unwary, and at the same time declare the navy was popular. I have been in New York at different times when the rendezvous was open, and sometimes we would receive on board the receiving ship two, three, four, or five men per day; the latter number was called *a great haul of fish*, and this was when seamen's wages in the merchant service were very low, say twelve or thirteen dollars per month. At this time had the captain of a merchant vessel carried his articles or shipping paper to a shipping officer, he could have had a hundred men where only six or eight were wanted. Seamen that would flock to a shipping office in order to get a chance in a vessel, and who had not a shot in the locker, their pockets so clean swept that there was not enough left to pay toll for a walking-stick, would cast a shy look at the stripes and stars waving from the window of the naval rendezvous, and never would think of shipping there

until they were compelled by the threats of their landlords or imposed upon by the fictitious stories of a crimp; and yet the honorable secretary would assert that the navy was popular, in the face of thousands who could have testified to the contrary. I do not know what doom befits the slave who sells his country, or the man who neglects the interests of that part of the people committed to his care, until the public service is ruined by his deceit and neglect. I will follow this matter still further, and prove beyond the prospect of contradiction, that the navy is not popular with seamen, and give many reasons why it should not be. The man-of-war's man ships for three years; the merchant seaman for a voyage; the latter goes to a particular port, returns, and receives his discharge; during this voyage he may wear what he pleases, and will have liberty, and one-third of the pay due him at every port of discharge; the former is enlisted for general service, and may be sent to any vessel or station for three years, receive only a few dollars of his pay in money during that time, and be compelled to wear just such clothes as his officers may direct, and spend his hard-earned pay for soap to wash his clothes every other day, and scrub hammocks and bags once a week. The merchant seaman has his wages in cash, while the greater part of the man-of-war's man's goes to the purser. Let these things be considered, and cease to wonder why the navy should be unpopular. This is without mentioning the very great effect that the word flogging must have on every man's nerves. The fact is notorious, at present, that we have three or four sloops of war and two or three frigates which are nearly ready for sea, and there is not one quarter enough of men to man them, nor can they be shipped, although we have a rendezvous in all our principal seaports for that purpose. There the vessels lay, which ought to be protecting our commerce, and giving our officers experience, along side of our navy yards, all a-taunto, waiting for men. For shame, to say the navy is popular with seamen. There are perhaps 120,000 seamen in the United States, and it is with the greatest difficulty we can get 3,000 (annually) to ship in the navy; this is about one-twentieth of the whole. Say, fellow citizens, can the government

be popular which is opposed by nineteen-twentieths of the people? I despise the whine of office which will sacrifice truth and justice to accomplish its own ends. The former secretaries of the navy were afraid to tell Congress the truth for fear of its leading to some investigations that they would not like. For God's sake, Mr. Paulding, come out, "tell the truth, and shame the devil."—I know you will next session; if not, look out for breakers.

CHAPTER VII.

England's plan for raising seamen for her navy—France—her laws respecting the same—neglect of the U. S. government towards this useful class of men, and the ruinous consequences to the navy and merchants—apprentices in English vessels, and advantage arising from having men and officers educated together, and from being citizens of the same place—school ships in the river Thames—hospital fund—ignorance of seamen—appeal to Congress—bounty given to seamen in the navy—its uselessness—deplorable state of the navy from the ignorance of secretaries—advice to Mr. Paulding.

GREAT BRITAIN, from whom we are so fond of drawing comparisons, does not depend upon her navy to instruct her seamen. She has a public school for boys for the navy, at Greenwich; but into this school none but the orphans or sons of deceased, or worn out public servants are admitted, so that the object of the institution is to provide for them rather than the benefit that they are to the navy. In that country every vessel under one hundred tons, must carry one apprentice; over one hundred tons and under one hundred and fifty, two; over the latter, and under two hundred, three, and so on. I am not positively certain that this is the very letter of the law, but it is near akin to it. The coal trade to the north of England, in which so many vessels are employed, is the great nursery of British seamen. They find their way over banks and through narrow channels, in the most dense fogs, by the lead alone. They will sling an apprentice over the side in a bar-

rel, and make him heave the lead for a whole watch, when he is so small that only his head and shoulders are seen above the staves. If the weather is cold this keeps the water that drops from the line off from his clothes; his feet and legs are dry, and his hands alone are exposed. By this means it is not uncommon to find English boys of sixteen years of age that can heave a better lead than many of our seamen, who may have followed the sea as many years as the boy is old. In Woodfall's edition of the Letters of Junius, it is stated that coal to supply the city of London could be dug at Blackheath, and sold for one half the price that the citizens of that place now pay for it, but the government will not suffer the mines to be opened, as it would destroy the nursery for British seamen. England has for centuries been the strongest naval power, depending upon her wooden walls alone for protection, and we ought to benefit by her experience, as far as we can do so, without encroaching upon the liberties of the people. France has had for many years past an especial eye towards the improvement of her navy. She employs several brigs as school ships for conscripts drafted from the interior provinces, only keeping a few old seamen on board. These vessels are not kept laying in port; they put to sea, and one of them that I visited in Leghorn, surpassed anything that I ever saw in our navy for neatness and perfection. I had, previous to that time, thought ours the most perfect vessels afloat, but was unwillingly compelled to alter my opinion. By this means France and England will always have a sufficient number of seamen for any emergency. It ought to be considered that England, during the last war that she had with France, had to impress her seamen, and independent of that odious measure, every seaman so impressed cost the government, on an average, not less than seventy pounds sterling, exclusive of his bounty if he volunteered, and his wages. If our country had to pay three hundred and fifty dollars for a few thousand seamen, besides their wages, it would awaken us up to a sense of the evil, for any demands upon our purse, have a wonderful effect upon our ideas and feelings. It makes us see things in a different light; what was before dim and obscure has become plain

and evident, and this wonderful alteration is produced by the power of money ; and from niggardly economy our country is suffered to run to the brink of ruin. The laws of France do not permit a seaman to leave the country and serve under a foreign flag. Many of them, however, run away from their vessels in foreign ports and enter our navy and merchant service ; but if ever they are caught again in France, they are sent on board a vessel of war immediately. When I was in the ship *Olympia*, of New Orleans, we had a Frenchman on board, and on the morning that we were ready to sail from Havre, a *gens d'arme* took him up and carried him before the police, as it had been ascertained that he was a citizen of France. The man had been a long time in the United States, and told the commissary of the police that he was born in Louisiana. The officer knew from his accent that this was false, but as no proof was adduced to the contrary, the officer did not appear disposed to rob the ship or detain her, and allowed the man to go on board again, telling him to be very careful not to come to Havre again ; and his advice was not thrown away, for the poor sailor was so frightened that it is not to be supposed that ever he will return to his native country again. I cannot forbear repeating a remark made by the commissary. He said that seamen left France, their native country, to go to the United States for greater wages. He could not see that they were benefitted by the exchange. The French seamen, who remained under their own flag, could dress as well, and apparently have as much money to spend as those who left it. If they did get more wages, they at the same time acquired a habit of spending it in dissipation, which evil more than counterbalanced the difference in the pay. It will be seen from these obvious truths, that those two powerful European nations take an especial interest in the welfare of their seamen, whereas in the United States they are entirely neglected. Can any law be pointed out that has been enacted for their benefit ? or has any institution been opened for their instruction ? None. Our commerce is daily increasing, and those who are the main springs of that commerce are neglected, and we have to look to foreigners for assistance in

navigating vessels, because no law has been enacted to encourage natives to embark in them.

In England boys are sent to sea very young, and many of them serve an apprenticeship of seven years; but this is wrong. When they are sent to sea so young their education is neglected, and they are never calculated to fill any other situation than that of "common Jack." In our country, if boys are sent to sea, they should not be sent so very young; their principles ought to be formed in some measure before they are thrust out on the world, to buffet with fortune; and some attention ought to be paid to their education, by which, if meritorious, they would be found qualified to fill higher stations. Nor should they be subject to the brutal and unfeeling treatment which they but too often receive on board of English vessels. When the demoralizing vice of intemperance is driven out from among seamen, parents will no longer hesitate to send their sons to sea, if such is the bent of their inclination, especially if they can get them apprenticed to good ship owners. And when dissipation no longer exists, seamen will be found ready to receive the moral instruction which they so much require, and immoral, obscene and blasphemous language will no longer be heard on the forecastle nor quarter deck. One of the happy results of having apprentices would be that some would become masters and others mates, by which means a sympathy of reciprocal feeling would exist between the officers and crew, a feeling of respect for each other; the officers would not ill treat the men, and they would be obeyed with alacrity. When the duty was done they could mingle together and talk over the scenes of their boyhood, discourse of absent friends; and the revolts and mutinies that we daily hear of would no longer take place. These disagreeable and disgraceful occurrences, which are a stain upon our country, are as often produced by the tyranny and brutal treatment of officers, as from any predisposition, ill feeling, or bad behaviour on the part of the seamen; but both these causes would be removed, were officers and seamen citizens of the same place, and bound together by the social ties of country and friends. Apprentices so bound to a ship owner, would make his interest their's;

they would take as much pride in the safety and neat appearance of their vessels as the officers, knowing that by good conduct they would become officers themselves. When the vessel to which they belonged arrived home, they could for a time return to their friends, or be sent to school in order to fit them for the promotion that it would be their study to deserve.

There is a school ship in the river Thames, near London, supported by individuals, for the education of youths for the merchant service, who are bound out, after a time, to ship-owners by the trustees of the school, with the consent of their parents ; but before they are so bound they are instructed in the rudiments of their profession, as well as in reading, writing, and arithmetic. Such a vessel in the harbor of Boston or New York, would be a great ornament to them ; and certainly the merchants and ship-owners of both ports are second to none for munificence, benevolence, philanthropy and enterprise. But the state and general governments ought to do something of this, or at least do an act of justice by hunting up the hospital fund, which has been accumulating for the last thirty-eight years, and expend it in some way for the benefit of seamen, either in the erection of schools for the young, hospitals for the sick, or asylums for the disabled or worn out. Were such to be the case, sick and disabled seamen would not have to be maintained by private institutions or benevolent individuals. Much has been done by merchants, ship-owners, &c. for seamen, during a few years past ; but much remains to be done. The light that has been shed on some of this unfortunate class, only serves to show in a more prominent measure, the darkness and ignorance in which others are groping their way, and proving how wide and terrible the devastation ignorance and immorality have produced amongst them. Many imprudent boys are now immured in houses of reformation and refuge who might be sent to sea. It is an old saying, "that the gallows and the sea refuse nothing," but in this I do not entirely concur. A ship is perhaps the best place in which an idle youth could be placed. A restless will, impatient of the restraints of unvarying labor, sometimes may find a field for honest and useful exercise in the adventurous variety of a sailor's

life. The discipline, too, of a ship is so strict, that idleness is thereby driven out of the course of its ordinary shifts and expedients, so that a sea life will often produce a salutary change in the character of an imprudent but not thoroughly corrupted youth. It requires the same qualities to make a good sailor as a good citizen—industry, perseverance, obedience, and ingenuity. There is a great evil existing from having too many foreign seamen in our ships, which is, that if there is any cause of discontent on board of their vessel, the foreigners curse the country; this is likely to breed a quarrel between them and the native; if not, the American so often hears his own country traduced and villified, and other countries praised, that he soon experiences a diminution of the love and regard for his country, which ought so deeply to be rooted in the heart of every American, and he soon begins to look on his own with a morbid feeling, if not with coldness and disgust. On the passage home on board of the last merchant vessel that I was in, the captain harrassed all hands incessantly, and cursing his country and vessel, was an entertainment with the Italians (who composed a part of the crew) at every meal. One of them even went so far as to propose taking the vessel and running her into a port on the coast of Barbary, where he had once been a prisoner. But he was smartly rebuked by the only American in the forecabin, and backed by two Englishmen, who had too much honor and principle to do a deed that would haunt them to their grave. And to this circumstance alone the owner was indebted for the vessel, and the merchants for the cargo. His name I do not now remember, but if I never should hear that he is at the head of a mutiny I shall be very agreeably disappointed.

No seaman can be shipped for the navy unless he declares himself to be an American, and if his dialect gives the lie direct to his assertion, some other proof may be required, and the crimp will furnish him with a protection answering pretty near to his age, height, and complexion. By the name on the protection, comes what are called purser's names. The protection is returned to answer for another, and so the deceit is carried on. I once heard a first lieutenant when stationing the crew

ask every man where he belonged ; some told him the truth, others a falsehood. One said he "belang fan the ruver Albany more higher up ;" meaning that he belonged up the North river above Albany, which was not the case. He was a newly-imported Dutchman. When the same first lieutenant was selecting the petty officers, he asked several if they ever had been petty officers before, one told him he had, "but not in this service ;" thereby unblushingly declaring that he was a foreigner, and an applicant for a petty officer's situation in the navy, to the exclusion of the citizen or the native. The ship was the *Vandalia*, and the lieutenant was J. Mattison, to whose credit it must be told that he did not recommend him for the situation ; and he was afterwards found incapable of doing it, even if he had been. It may now be seen whether or not this evil ought to be remedied. I have confined myself to facts, and any plan that I have submitted, has been done from conviction ; by experience they would be found beneficial. I would wish this to be considered by every member of Congress before it convenes again. It is true, perhaps, that I have not followed the beaten track in bringing such things to the notice of that honorable body. But I am a common seaman, not a whit better than thousands who are suffering from the evils and abuses complained of, and Congress ought to pay particular attention to me as I am perhaps the first one of that class that has appealed to them. I know that the usual way to gain such points is by flattery and appeals to their generosity. But flattery and *soft soap*, are commodities that I seldom deal in, never to any of the male sex at all events. Even if I were to deviate from my usual rule on this occasion, I could spare so little that they would think themselves slighted. The difference would be so great between what I could afford to use and what they generally receive that they might be dissatisfied with the change. I am not a sycophant. I am not applying to any one of that body to get me into office, or to solicit the honorable secretary of the navy to reinstate me in my former rank. I am asking them collectively and individually, to do me and all other seamen, an act of justice. I am asking them to look to the welfare of the navy, and the

interests of the merchant. I am not craving this as a boon ; I am asking it as a right which every member, if he considers fairly and deliberately will acknowledge. I expect it from policy, I claim it from justice, and I demand it from gratitude.

Since writing the foregoing part of this chapter, I have been informed that the secretary of the navy has directed a bounty of thirty dollars to be paid to every seaman who enters the navy. If we require three thousand seamen for the navy annually, this will create an additional expense of ninety thousand dollars, and will go to seamen ; but if he supposes for a moment, that this will answer the object expected, I beg leave to tell him that he is ignorant of the business with which he is interested. Giving a man thirty dollars will no more induce him to ship in the navy than a Brandreth's pill would cure him of the tooth ache. Unfortunately for seamen they do not look far enough ahead to perceive the benefit that would be derived from this great and new scheme of giving a bounty. At least one half of the seamen that now enter the navy, do so from necessity, not from choice. When their money is spent, they ship in the navy for the advance they receive, as it may enable them to satisfy the demands of a landlord, and leave them a few dollars for a cruise. Since this bounty is given they receive no advance on account of pay, and as the bounty is less than the advance formerly was, the inducement to ship is lessened in an equal ratio instead of answering the end proposed.

It is painful to reflect upon the injury done to this arm of national defence, by those in power, and to witness the subterfuges used to hold an office under government. What will the former secretaries of the navy say when the falsehood of their assertions made to Congress, meets them at every corner, and which is clearly proved by the means resorted to to procure the few seamen that we require for the protection of our commerce ? No man dare say that Mr. Paulding would pay ninety thousand dollars annually to procure seamen, if he could do it without, and the absurdity of the plan will only expose our weakness without removing the evil. It is painful to reflect that our navy, small as it is, cannot be manned without resorting to means never used by any other nation to procure seamen in

time of peace. What avails our fine ships or talented officers, if we cannot get seamen to man the one, and be instructed in the art of naval warfare by the other? and yet men dare to tell Congress that the navy is popular with seamen. If the truth had been told that body years ago, some laws would have been made to remedy the evil, instead of allowing it to eat into the very heart's core of the service. But men preferred office to their country's good, or the benefit of that branch over which they were called to preside. Great Britain at present employs a navy for the protection of her commerce, equal to the whole of ours including ships on the stocks and in ordinary, and yet she has never been compelled to give a bounty to her seamen in time of peace, but on the contrary, she can always have a greater number than she requires. During her wars she gave a large bounty, and even took men by force from their own firesides and put them on board of ships of war. But such an act in our country would be razing the constitution to its base; and what else could we do, if the services of twenty or thirty thousand seamen were required? Impressment would either have to be resorted to, or our vessels would lay at our navy yards without men, and the few that could be manned would be swept from the ocean by the overwhelming force of our adversary. It appears by papers laid before the British House of Commons some time ago, that after being compelled to press seamen for the British navy, every one so impressed cost the government the sum of seventy pounds sterling, exclusive of pay and prize money, and without divine inspiration it cannot be predicted what we are to do in case of collision with any of the maritime powers of Europe, when we cannot ship seamen enough to man the few ships we keep in commission in time of peace. It must not be supposed that there will be seamen enough found in our country to man the ships of our navy from patriotic motives. This may be a bugbear held up at present to quiet the fears of the ignorant; but woe to the day when it will become necessary to put it to the test. In case of a war, the seamen's wages on board of merchant ships would be increased, and those that now serve in the navy from mercenary motives would quickly abandon it for the

better pay given them in the merchant service. When that time comes, then will our citizens see how much deceit has been used to blind them to a true state of things, by those whose duty it was to enlighten them on the subject. I cannot call Mr. Paulding, *Honored Sir*, as I perceive by the Boston Atlas he has been called by an officer of the navy, but I really pity him in his present situation; he has been appointed to the command of a sinking ship, and it will require his most vigorous exertions to get her high enough out of water to stop her leaks. This bounty plan is like plastering a piece of tarred canvass over a hole to keep the water out, and will be washed away as soon as put on. If he is ignorant of the cause of the unpopularity of the navy among seamen, let him find out from other than those who address him *Honored Sir*, and when he does get to the root of the evil, let him lay a true statement of the facts before Congress; that body alone has the power to apply a remedy. It is vain in him to suppose that his bounty plaister will ever be productive of any thing but injury. What a handle it will be to those to whom we have boasted about our splendid ships and gallant officers. They will admit the beauty of the one and the gallantry of the other, but will ask us, "where are the men to fight them? you have not got seamen, you have to give a bounty to enable you to get two or three thousand annually. What is the use of your ships?"

CHAPTER VIII.

The ship *Olympia*, of New Orleans—conduct of her officers—foreigners—reasons of their obsequiousness—affray in Port Mahon—beating sailors, and driving them on shore in foreign ports—tobacco found on board the *Olympia*—result—shipping men—arbitrary disposition of the mate, and a Dutchman's appeal to the captain—a man beat with a heavy belaying pin—no redress in New Orleans—injury to merchants and ship owners, from the bad treatment of seamen.

THE ship *Olympia* was, I believe, built in Boston; but she is owned by merchants in New Orleans, hails from that place,

and is generally employed in the cotton trade between that port and Havre de Grace. I shipped on board of her in New Orleans, sometime ago. Her name at that time was held in utter detestation by seamen, but this I was not aware of previous to shipping. However, before the steamboat left us, I saw enough to convince me that she was held so, deservedly. The pilot had not left us at the Balize, before abuse and epithets were lavishly used by the officers to the crew. The only American citizen on board, myself excepted, was George Bartlett, of Charlestown, Mass. He was a man of some education, and one who had seen better days; and we made up our minds to take things as quietly as possible, and if abused, to seek redress at the bar of our country's laws, on our return. The crew, eight in number, consisted of one Frenchman, one Blue-nose, one Scotchman, one Englishman, two Dutchmen, and two Americans, exclusive of officers, cook and boy. The crew were, for the most part, men who could do their duty better than the general run of men shipped in New Orleans, and the voyage might have been made and ended, with pleasure and satisfaction to all parties. We soon discovered that the master was very capable in every respect as a ship master, and would have been a good commander if he had not left too much power in the hands of his mate, who was inexperienced, abusive and tyrannical, although very smart, active, and an excellent seaman, for so young a man. The second mate possessed none of the good qualities of the others, but had all their vices. He was ignorant of his duty as a seaman, and utterly unfit for an officer, by merit or education; but he took care to follow in the steps of the mate, and lavish showers of abuse, on all occasions, which may naturally be expected did not exalt him in the opinion of the crew. The mate had some redeeming qualities; he would always knock off work at a certain hour, and would not, without cause, disturb his watch at night; and when there was work to be done, he was always ready to give a pull, which served to redeem in part some of his less commendable qualities. The second mate had none of these; and in addition to the vices of the mate, he was two-faced, and a tale bearer; and a character of that description in a ship, will invariably create dis-

turbances between the officers and crew, where all might have been happiness. The first occasion that the mate resorted to, any thing further than ill language, was by beating one of the Dutchmen, who belonged to his watch, with his fists and the end of the main clue garnet, a three-inch rope, (an unlawful weapon,) for not answering him while going up the main rigging, when he ordered him to pull off his monkey jacket. The night was very cold, and the duty could have been done as well with a monkey jacket on, as with it off. The same Dutchman was addicted to sleeping on his watch at night; and for this offence the mate would beat him with whatever came to his hand, exclusive of keeping him on deck, or aloft, at work, when it was his forenoon watch below. It was wrong to sleep on his look-out, but keeping him on deck for four hours, when he ought to be asleep in his berth, was a sufficient punishment without resorting to blows, or at least should have been deemed as such. On several occasions the mate kicked and beat him at the wheel; and this was an unlawful proceeding, and as such, ought to have been punished. The other Dutchman, his companion, frequently shared the same usage; he was a stout, smart looking young man, but he took all the mate gave him in the shape of kicks and blows, without resorting to them in self defence. Indeed seamen from the north of Europe are famous for their patient suffering under such treatment; but this ought not to be attributed to national sycophancy, meanness, or want of courage, but to circumstances. When a German, Swede, Dane, or Prussian, enters on board of an American ship, it very often happens that he cannot speak or understand a word of the English language. He is willing to learn, and make himself useful, in gratitude for the pay that he is receiving, which is probably treble what he would have got in his own country vessels. Every time an officer calls, he runs and answers; and when an order is given him, he may not comprehend it properly, but shows his willingness to execute it, by a smiling countenance. This looks like cringing in him, while it is only expressing by his looks what he cannot give utterance to with his tongue. So strong does this habit become, that before he has learned the language, it is so deep-rooted that it cannot be

laid aside. This, together with their national turpitude, procures for them the name of *curry-favorers*, amongst English and American seamen.

There are fewer foreigners in English than in American vessels; for which there are several reasons. The English merchant seamen do not receive as high wages as ours, by one-third; and during the war between England and France, while the English seamen were serving for years in the British navy, and receiving small pay and hard usage, these northern foreigners (Dutchmen, as they are called by seamen) were sailing in their merchant vessels, receiving enormous pay, which was caused by the great want of seamen for the navy; the British subject would be pressed into the navy, and the Dutchman allowed to make the voyage unmolested. This created a great hatred against them, which has been carefully transmitted from father to son, and has been imbibed more or less by American sailors, without knowing why, or wherefore. After the peace between England and France, the Dutchmen were driven from the English marine, and took shelter under the stripes and stars. So strong, even till the present day, is the feeling of British seamen, against these men, that should they ship in English vessels, they would lead a dog's life. This ill feeling exists against them in our vessels, as their ignorance of the language, or habitual sycophancy, prevents them from entering into any measures of opposition, with the crew, against the officers; and as our ship masters are politicians enough to know that where there is not unanimity in a fore-castle, little dread may be entertained of any opposition to their authority, no matter how unjust, or tyrannical they may be; and for this reason Dutchmen are very often taken by ship masters in preference to Americans, and for this same reason our seamen are fostering a hate against them equal to the English.

Between the English and Americans there is less difference. Having one common language, they soon become one people. As to the Italians, Portuguese, Greeks, Spaniards, &c., that we have in our merchant service, they are parvenus, from principle; they sucked slavery and sycophancy from their mother's breast, and it cannot be driven out of them: they are as treach-

erous and cowardly, as they are blood-thirsty and subtle. The Frenchman is different from any, and in the merchant service generally agrees better with the American than any other except the English. The Yankee may sometimes call him *Mungey the Frog*, or John Crapeau, but there is no permanent ill feeling between them, and this does not arise from any want of spirit on the part of the Frenchman, who generally repays it in the same kind, by calling him *Skanky Got d—n*. The French seamen have a just sense of their rights, as frequent affrays between them and our seamen, at Port Mahon, have fully proved. American and French seamen have never met on shore, in that port, without a row and fight, in which the latter were sure to come off second best. Every American officer and seaman who was there at the time, deplored the fatal termination of one of those scrapes, in which a young French lieutenant was killed by one of the crew of the United States frigate Java. A party of men from the French and American squadron were on shore, and, as was usual, a row was got up between them. The Americans drove a party of French sailors over a very steep hill, which overlooks the harbor, and maimed and wounded many of them. A number fled to their ships for safety, and related the circumstances. The officer in command sent a party of his men and officers on shore, armed, to separate the combatants and bring off their own men. A young lieutenant, the son of the then port admiral of Toulon, heedlessly went among a fighting party and drew his sword to separate them. Some one of the Americans thought it was drawn against him, and, maddened with liquor, wrested the sword from him and run it through his body. The unfortunate sufferer was wrong in going amongst a party of drunken seamen, but he was too fatally punished. Two men, belonging to the Java, were taken up on suspicion of having committed the deed, and were confined in jail many months; whereas, Commodore Crane, who then commanded the squadron, ought to have insisted on their being tried, or given up. After Commodore Biddle took command of the squadron they were quickly liberated, as he was a man not to be trifled with. So great a sensation did this create, that, when the Java after-

wards visited Toulon, where the deceased French officer had been very popular, the officers of that ship scarcely dared to land. On such scrapes the Americans are generally the aggressors, for no parrot or monkey is half so impudent as an English or American sailor in a foreign port; they call every one a foreigner, or *poor beggar*, while they are the foreigners. But if the native gets their money, in most foreign countries, they are content to put up with their abuse. When the Dutchmen and Americans meet on shore, in Port Mahon, there is no fighting; the former humor the latter, and for their obsequiousness, share their grog and board; for with seamen, especially when on shore, there is no step between love and hate. By this means the Dutchman fares better than he could upon his own *dolder* of liberty money, and the American might as well share it with him as any one else. As long as I was upon that station, I never knew any difficulty between an American sailor and the natives. They administer to his wants, from a damsel of fifteen, to a jackass to ride on about the streets—give him what he calls for, and he throws them his money. But I have wandered far from my subject; digressions in poetry, I believe, are allowed; but in prose, I suppose an apology ought to be made; and as I have none to offer, I will resume.

When we arrived in the English Channel, in the month of March, the weather was extremely cold, but we had to paint ship outside, and tar the rigging from the truck to the deck; whereas, in two days in port, we might have done the whole better. But no; we must do it at sea, and be deprived of our forenoon watch and necessary rest. When we got into Havre, we run the ship on the mud in the basin, as there was not water enough for us to get up to the dock gates. On the return of the flood we were directed, when the vessel floated, to haul in. A watch was set at 8, P. M., with orders to call the mate at 1, A. M., but the Scotchman fell asleep on his watch. The mate awoke before the time, and finding no person on deck, called all hands to find out who had the watch, and it was ascertained who the delinquent was. The mate flogged and beat him with his fists, occasionally kicking him with a pair of sea boots that he had on. The second mate would have

assisted him, but the mate declined receiving it, and he was told by the crew to mind his own business. This took place in a foreign port, and the watchmen and dock masters must have formed a very favorable opinion of us, when they ascertained the cause. Bartlett and myself went with the master to sign the protest, the day following, and he inquired the cause of the row. It was stated to him as it had happened; and when he asked our opinion of the affair, we told him that that would be given in a court of justice, in the United States. From this (after a consultation between the master and mate) it was concluded that they must either rid themselves of these men, or Bartlett and myself; and they resolved to do the former. In addition to the two Dutchmen and Scotchmen that had been abused by the mate, the Englishman had fallen under his displeasure, and every means was resorted to in order to harrass, and drive them from the ship. One of them had gone on to the wharf to get a glass of grog, and was not absent more than a minute, but he was seen by the mate, and on his return he was flogged and beaten by him till the people on the wharf shouted shame, and hissed. The mate openly told the men, that if they did not run away "he would be d——d if he did not throw them overboard before they got home." The master gave their names to a sailor landlord, and told him if they wanted to run away to give them seven dollars each, that being the amount due them. In preference to suffering a continuation of the brutal treatment that they had already experienced, and which they naturally expected would increase instead of diminishing, they took their clothes on shore, at noon day, and left the vessel: the master reported to the consul that they had deserted, and there the matter rested. On the day they left the ship, two pounds of tobacco, belonging to the Englishman, was found in the fore-castle, by the custom house officers; and the law in France is, that all tobacco on board of ships entering their ports, shall be given up to the officers of the customs, and they shall deal it out to the crew as required for use. The men had shipped on board of an American brig, bound to Cadiz, and the master of the Olympia went on board of her, stopped four dollars of the advance of three of the men, and took the

whole of the man's advance (sixteen dollars) to whom the tobacco belonged, as well as the seven dollars paid to him by the landlord, under the false pretence that the vessel was fined. And those of us that remained on board were directed to say (if asked by those men) that the ship had been fined. And when Bartlett and myself declared that we would not countenance such fraud, the mate replied, "d—n you, I'll pay you for it if you don't." Thus did the master, after treating these men in the most brutal manner, cheat them out of thirty-five dollars.

Before we sailed three men were shipped in their place ; a fourth could not be found, so we had to go to sea one hand short of our complement. French seamen are not permitted (if it is known to the police) to sail under a foreign flag, and we dared not to take one of them. Of the seamen shipped, one was a native American, one a naturalized citizen, and the third a Dutchman, but an excellent seaman. After we sailed, the Dutchman and the mate had a dispute, and the mate told him to look out for himself for he would work him up. The Dutchman replied, "you cannot work me up, tell me what you want done, and I will do it." The mate, who had hitherto received such abject submission from his countrymen, expected no less from him, and flew into a passion on discovering his error. The master heard the noise, ordered the Dutchman aft, and heaped a torrent of abuse upon him for daring to return an answer to his officers. He made use of such language as I should blush to repeat. When he had vented his wrath, the Dutchman very coolly spoke to him in something like the following terms, "Captain Gray, now I will be heard. You could get no men in Havre when your crew left you, as your ship had a bad name. You told me and the others, when we shipped, that we should be treated like men ; now fulfill your promise—have we been so ? The weather has been very stormy, we have never had a full watch below, and in the afternoon all hands are kept making sinnet, which is not worth one cent a fathom, and bad language is used by you and your officers ; they make threats and you countenance them. I am a man, sir, treat me as such, and I will do my work, but

if ever one of your officers strike me with a weapon of any kind, that moment shall be the last of his life. It is in your power to get a good name for your ship before she gets home yet—a thing she never has had. We don't find so much fault with you as with your officers; restrain them within moderation and all will go well. When you were chief mate of the *Marengo*, seamen had no fault to find with you,—why is it not so now? Simply because you let your mates do as they please, and you are advised by them; but they shall not abuse me." These remarks brought tears into Gray's eyes, and he ordered watch and watch to be given until we got clear of the channel, and promised that there should be better treatment. For a time all was comfort and happiness, but the villainy of the mate at length burst out anew. One morning after breakfast Stillman (the American) was in the galley lighting his pipe, the cook being absent, which was against the mate's orders, who observed him, as he was ever on the watch for something to find fault with, and cried "come out of that galley, G—d d—n you." "I will come out of the galley sir, but you need not damn me," replied the man. The mate hesitated not a moment, but dealt the man several blows about the face, which was returned with interest; finding himself likely to get worsted, the mate drew a turned ash belaying pin from the rail and struck the man with it several times, inflicting deep wounds on the head, as the man's hat was off. The passengers interfered; the rest of the men were below, and the master, forgetting his former promises, took the man ast and threatened to flog him, and attempted to strike him with another belaying pin, although he was covered with blood, but the passengers prevented him. Here was cruelty without cause—and what was the result? On our arrival in New Orleans, the man went to seek redress by the usual means, (the law) but he could not get a lawyer to do anything for him, unless he gave him twenty dollars, which he did not have to give, and for want of money was deprived of justice. In our northern ports there are plenty to assist seamen, but there it was not the case, and the mate and master both escaped with impunity. The Dutchman spoken of soon fell into the usual obsequious habit of his countrymen, from

which he had been for a moment roused by the mate. During the rest of the passage he was as smiling as his countrymen had been on the passage out.

So well do some ship masters know the disposition of seamen that they treat them badly a whole voyage, until a few days before they arrive, and then change their conduct; and seamen are of so forgiving a nature that they forget the whole by the time the vessel is along side of the wharf; and for this reason some ship officers say that they can buy a seaman with a chew of tobacco and glass of grog. After our arrival at the Balize there was nothing to be done of any consequence, but put the vessel to rights, for the very good reason, that before that, we had been kept incessantly at work. The master got some tobacco for the crew, as they had had none for some time previous, and this made them say, "that the ship was not very bad;" when a few days before they had been swearing to advertise her in every paper in New Orleans. I must say that in this ship there were good provisions, and that the master, Edward Gray, was a very capable man, and a good seaman, but he gave his mates too much of their own way.

I am one of the last men that would wish to deprive a master of a merchant vessel of the power sufficient to preserve his authority; but I know of no situation in which men can be placed where they can be rendered so completely miserable as on board of a ship, if the officers are disposed to make them so, and the master is a man who will not redress their wrongs; and is himself actuated and governed by caprice, ill nature, or a tyrannical disposition, rather than by sound judgment, mildness and humanity. If he is a man of this description, his vessel becomes a perfect hell, the law has left no alternative for the crew but to suffer his caprices, whims, and tyranny in silence for a long voyage, or else do a deed that will bring them to the scaffold, or haunt them to their grave. Although seamen are the grèatest sufferers, yet merchants and ship-owners are made so in case there is any resistance made to the master's authority, and they should bear in mind the dying words of Wilhelms, executed at New York for piracy, and the murder of the master and mate of the Braganza. He said "that

they (the crew) were obliged to do it; the master treated them so badly, that he should go." There is nothing to palliate the crime of piracy; but certainly every means should be used to have the cause of it removed. Of all the mutinies, piracies, and murders that have been committed on board of our merchant vessels, few of them have been perpetrated from any other motives but revenge for injuries, and bad treatment. The ship *Globe*, the *Braganza*, and many others that have no doubt been destroyed and imagined lost, have been taken by their crews, who were actuated solely by these motives. Few indeed have been taken from selfish or mercenary motives although there may be a few exceptions, such as the *Vineyard*, &c. I would never advise a seaman to take the law into his own hands; but really it is hard to draw a line to show how far tyranny ought to go before resisted. Running away to escape is often fatal to the hopes of the seamen, and yet they often resort to it, which in many instances is often injurious to the owners and merchant. A seaman, when he runs away, very seldom betters himself. If he gets a month's advance from the vessel he goes in he spends it, and has to work for it; if he gets his clothes from the vessel he left he only loses his wages; but if he loses both, it takes him a long time to make up the lée way.

CHAPTER IX.

Brig Charles Joseph, of Providence—apparent kindness of the captain—its fallacy proved—flogging a seaman—cause thereof—remonstrance of the crew unheeded—provisions—means of annoyance used to punish the crew, who are driven on shore in Leghorn—character of those shipped in their stead—the captain's penuriousness—digression—impropriety of not having a law to regulate the ration in the merchant service—the present law misconstrued.

WHEN I last sailed from New Orleans, it was on board the brig Charles Joseph, of Providence, George W. Frost, master. I looked around me the first morning, and from what I saw,

was rather pleased than otherwise. I thought that as I had got on board of a northern vessel once more, I might expect some pleasure from the voyage; but it often happens that people reckon without the host. The mates appeared to be fine men; the chief was a New Yorker, and the second, Charles Hickey, of Portsmouth, N. H., as smart a little sailor as ever trod a plank; the master appeared to be a pleasant man; he kept aloof from every one, only giving such orders as were necessary. The mates soon showed that they wished to be obeyed more from love than fear, and used mild language instead of the abuse so common in many ships. As is usually the case out of New Orleans, when we got to sea there was much to be done, which ought to have been done in port, but is not, in consequence of the high prices of labor; but as it was an usual occurrence, we all set about our duty willingly. There were eight men in the fore-castle, and they were equally divided into four parts, that is, two Americans, two Frenchmen, two Scotchmen, and two Irishmen. They were all good seamen except the Irishmen, and both of them were useless; they had both been in a Nantucket whaler, and that was enough to ruin them for life. We had observed at leave off and meal times that the master invariably found something to do that had not been observed before; but this we ascribed to accident rather than any wish to deprive us of proper time at our meals, or keep us at work later than was requisite or customary. Alas, we were deceived! It was only the commencement of a system of persecution and annoyance that was only to end with the voyage. I have omitted to state, that one of the men had what is usually termed the horrors, (*delirium tremens*), before we reached the Balize, and taking fright at something he jumped overboard, while the steamboat was towing us down; the stern boat was immediately lowered, and the man being an excellent swimmer, he was picked up and brought on board, much exhausted. From the master's conduct to him we were led to judge very favorably of his character for feeling and kindness, and looked forward to the end of the voyage with satisfaction; but alas! we were wretchedly deceived. After we left the Balize the weather was fine, and the winds light, it being in the

month of June. About eight days after we had sailed, I was awakened about half past three o'clock A. M. by the master calling loudly for the watch. I got up from off the fore hatch, where I had laid down, for the weather was very warm, to endeavor to ascertain what was the matter. The morning was fine, a light breeze scarcely filled the light sails that were set to invite it, and not a cloud was in the sky. It appeared that the main royal halliards had not been shifted to the windward when the ship had been tacked at two o'clock, as was customary, and the master coming on deck observed it, and ordered them to be shifted. One of the watch had gone aloft to do so, when the master only noticed one man on deck with the second mate, and called for the rest of the watch; there was only one other man belonging to the watch, and he had gone below to take or use some medicine before the watch was called, which delicacy forbade his using in the presence of a third person, and calling for him was the noise which awakened me.

The second mate had collared the man and was going aft, when the master met him in the gangway (having first thrown off his jacket) and inquired where the man had been. "In the head, sir," was the reply, and "you lie G—d d—n you," was the response of the master, at the same time striking the man several blows in the face with his fists. "Don't strike me, sir, or I will resist it," cried the man. On this he desisted, and called upon the mates and steward for assistance, and ordered the man aft to hoist up the main royal. He walked aft to comply, where he saw the mates ready to seize hold of him, and again ran forward, they pursuing him. In the mean time the steward had brought out one of the master's pistols and laid it upon the capstain, which the man, whose name was Bob, laid hold of when pursued by the master and mates. The other Scotchman, Joe, was at the wheel, and seeing the master passing him in pursuit of the man, he let go the wheel for a moment and caught hold of the master, asking him if he was going to murder the man. On finding himself laid hold of in this manner, the master snatched the dogvane staff from the rail, which was a heavy ash stick, and soon laid Joe

hors de combat. In the mean time Bob, when assured by the mate that no further injury was intended him than confinement, he gave up the pistol and submitted to be put in irons down in the run of the vessel, where he remained several days, fed upon bread and water, and was then released. It would naturally have been expected that the master would have been satisfied with what he had done, but not so; he caught hold of Joe, assisted by the mates, and seized him up in the main rigging. The crew assembled on the forecastle and went aft, to remonstrate, but without effect. They were ordered forward on peril of their lives, and told that they would be called before any measures were resorted to but such as had been taken, and on this assurance, went forward. On board of a vessel, seamen who are ignorant are generally easily advised by those who have any education, they expect that they know more than they really do, and if any person who has education is disposed to be troublesome when a disturbance takes place, may easily become so, or the reverse, as he is inclined. After a few minutes we were called aft, and told what Joe's fault was; but we remonstrated against flogging him, as being a punishment greater than the offence required, and likely to be productive of much evil. But all was unheeded. One of the Frenchmen made a loud appeal against it, he said, "Captain Fross, I been a Chiney, I been everyways, I been ten years aboar Merican shep, nevar in me life I see man flogg. I sail a Providence, the Rode Island, Nowvey Yorke, every ways, naver in me life I see man in e riggin in all the same e dat." But Peter's logic would not do; the master proceeded to cut from the whip of the main top gallant halliards a piece of two or two and a half inch rope, and inflicted upon the man's back, tied in the rigging, fourteen lashes. The master inflicted the blows himself, with his whole strength, and appeared as if he thought that none would have done it so well. When he had given the last blow the man was hanging by the lashings, more dead than alive, his lips perfectly blue and his cheeks of an ashy hue. In this condition he was suffered to remain for some time, and then taken down and sent forward, with one of his arms so much sprained or twisted that he could not use it

again during the whole passage which was more than seventy days.

All remained quiet for some time after that, but the master took every means to annoy and harrass us. The weather was fine, and we could not be exercised or our rest broken in upon by reefing ; but trimming sails at meal times, and on Sundays, was repeatedly and unnecessarily resorted to, in order to keep us employed and prevent our taking a minute to ourselves. The provisions were very bad, and molasses which is usually allowed by American ships, on rice and pudding days, was withheld, on the ground that there was but little on board, although there was enough to last for thirty days after we arrived in Leghorn. One day Jack, the other American, carried the dinner aft, which consisted of salt beef, upon which there was no more fat than on a block of mahogany, and dry boiled rice, and asked the master if he really thought it such as men could work or live upon ; he replied, " it is as it is ; if you don't like it you can have beef and bread," and beef and bread became the ration afterwards. On our arrival in Leghorn, we were put under thirty-five days quarantine, and the master soon ascertained that there were plenty of seamen on shore to be had for ten dollars per month (we had fifteen) and he directed the mate to tell any one that grumbled or found any fault, that he could go on shore and would be paid his wages. He well knew that he had gone too far and was liable to be punished by the law ; he therefore used every means in his power to drive the men from the ship. The two Scotchmen, the two Frenchmen, and the other American left her ; leaving only the two Irishmen and myself. The two Irishmen would have gone too, but they knew that they could not do an able seaman's duty. I would have left her also, but I could not procure a passport from the American Consul to go to join the naval squadron in Port Mahon, and I could not leave the port without one. To have entered under another flag, as the others did, was contrary to my inclination. English, Scotch, Italians, &c. were shipped in their place, at ten dollars per month ; this was saving five dollars on each man ; and while in port there were plenty of Italian laborers to work as low as half a dollar

per day, without their victuals ; so that he saved that also while the vessel lay in Leghorn. Fresh beef was cheaper than salt, and potatoes were cheaper than bread, so that he gave us those two articles to live upon from necessity. I naturally expected that on the passage home, as we had nearly a whole new crew, that the master would make some amends for his conduct on the passage out, but the very reverse was the case, for the weather, owing to the season being further advanced, was unsettled and boisterous, and consequently, his means of annoyance fearfully increased. We were thirty days to the Rock of Gibraltar, the greater part of the time being either a calm or blowing a gale. Indeed we very seldom got a whole watch below. When we applied to the master for the afternoon watch below, instead of knotting old rope yarns upon the water casks when the decks were deluged with water, he replied, " no ; if you say much you shan't have your forenoon watch either." After we left Gibraltar and were running down the trades, for we took the southern passage, he hit upon a scheme to prevent us from mending our clothes or reading a book on Sundays. We had only one lower studding sail, but on Sunday he would have a spare topgallant sail got up from below, reeve studding sail gear, rig out the booms and set it as a lower studding sail ; in the afternoon, take it in, make it up, rig in the booms and unreeve the gear. This with slushing masts, trimming yards, and doing other jobs entirely unnecessary, and which had never been thought of on week days, would keep us running the whole day. Repeatedly has he braced and then squared the yards again, without the wind hauling half a point. The reason why we made the passage to the southward, which is unusual, was to give him a chance to work us like horses from sunrise to sunset. Had we gone to the northward that would have been impossible. He was so anxious for work that he would call the forenoon watch before it was twelve o'clock by the sun, and in the evening shift the watch in the binnacle so as to keep us later at night ; that however, became so regular a thing that we used to laugh at it in his hearing. At last he broke the chain of the watch so that we never looked for knock off time until the sun was

below the horizon. When we had to reef, then was his chance to annoy us. He would never take in more than one reef at a time, from one mast-head to another. We would travel until that was done ; then reef the mainsail, come down, reef the foresail and set it, go up and furl the mainsail ; then wind up with reefing the trysail, although it would be blowing too fresh to set it, and the reef would perhaps be shaken out before it was set at all. By this system of oppression, he would sometimes keep us on deck twenty hours out of the twenty-four.

His cool-blooded villainy was only equalled by his parsimony and meanness. A large quantity of potatoes were brought on board at Gibraltar, as they were cheaper than biscuit, and those he would make the cook boil the night before they were wanted for *lob-skouse* in the morning, and take the skins off them when boiled to prevent waste. By this meanness we were deprived of our best meal, for after the potatoes were left in a warm galley all night, they would sour ; and when eaten, after being reboiled, they would produce a griping of the bowels and relax. But to recount all his mean acts would fill a volume. On the passage out, the mate eat with him, as is usual in all vessels ; but any article of luxury that was on the table would be placed next to himself, out of the mate's reach ; or there would be so little of it that the mate would be ashamed to touch it. On the passage home we got on the coast in cold weather ; he would not allow the mate a cup of coffee in his morning watch, and did not allow him to eat at the table with him ; and before the chief or second mate came to the table every thing but salt beef or pork would be removed. This is not drawing a picture of what an unprincipled master of a vessel may do, but what one has actually done, and I presume that none will be more surprised at the developement, than the owner of the vessel, Mr. Bishop, of Providence, who shall be furnished with a copy of this work for Mr. G. W. Frost, hoping that the exposure may benefit him. Had we experienced very rough weather on the coast the vessel would have been lost, for all confidence was gone between the master and the seamen. Had the cutting of a laniard carried away a mast, as is often

the case, I am sure it would have been done, had it not been for the trouble that it would have given us to replace the the damage. I do not owe Mr. Frost any more animosity than I do any other unfeeling man, for I must confess he treated me better than any one else in the ship; but if he had fed me upon chickens and starved the rest, that would not have made the matter look any better in my estimation. I will now say something of the crew, to show of what they were composed; those shipped in Leghorn were as follows: one Englishman, one Scotchman, one Maltee, one Austrian, and one Italian from the papal territory. Never was there such a medley in an American ship's fore-castle. It appeared like a general congress, to which every nation had sent a representative, but a few of which could understand each other, and thereby created a perfect Babel. The two Irishmen had a gibberish of their own; the Englishman could speak Maltee, and he and the Maltee formed a pair. The two Italians were another independent community, so that the Scotchman and myself were the only two that were compelled to resort to the English language to express our ideas. But their nations were not more different than their habits and tastes. The treatment they received was bad, and that drove them like a brood of chickens of different colors under one common mother for shelter. There was no subject upon which they all agreed except cursing the vessel and country, and that was an entertainment at every meal. They certainly would have hauled down the American colors, if they could have agreed upon what others were to be hoisted in their stead. If all from the Pope's dominions are like the specimen that we had, his highness certainly ought to be vested with divine power, for never did I come across a more black-hearted villain. Had I been as ready as many others are to find fault with the Catholic religion, I should have attributed his villainy to the easy rate at which he could purchase indulgences; but I too well know that that is only a weapon used by fanatics against the religion from which all others have proceeded. It is strange that men should believe in a Christ Jesus, and so openly deviate from his fundamental principle — "good will to all men," — as to pursue those who

differs from them in creed to the very brink of destruction, or to the shedding of man's blood, thinking to please God thereby. It is horrible ! Of the hundreds of different sects and religions, each separately believes himself on the right road to heaven, and will not suffer any one to pursue the journey with him, unless he sacrifices his opinions to insure him a passport to heavenly bliss. Catholic, protestant, presbyterian, methodist, and hundreds of others, are all railing against each other ; each believing himself right and all others wrong ; he on the road to salvation and all others to damnation. Give me the sailor's way of thinking before all these. When he sees the sun rising from out of the ocean he beholds the hand of his Maker. When the tempest rages around him he ascends the giddy mast ; the forked lightnings flash, but he relies for preservation on Him who provides shelter for the birds of the air, and without whose knowledge not one hair of our head falls to the ground. Him he worships by muttering a prayer amid the howling storm, and thinks that the next greatest way to obtain mercy is by doing good to his fellow men. How little are seamen known, and how much has lately been written concerning them, to show them up to the public as the brute of the field, only governed by instinct, without any of that pure morality or sympathy with their fellow men, which would render them valuable acquisitions to society. Alas, how false ! But I have drifted foul of religion, a thing I don't often do, so will run out a kedge and warp and haul off for fear of a broadside from some religious three decker. But yet I don't see why I should not worship God in my own fashion. When I see the sun rise over the billow and sink behind the same, when I see the tempest raging by his breath, and hushed into a calm by his voice, when I see him hold the waters as it were in the hollow of his hand, and offer him up a prayer for his divine providence and interposition so often manifested for my preservation ; is that prayer not as acceptable as if offered in a temple raised by human hands ? Is it not as acceptable as if echoed by the organ or made before the shrine of a saint, or in the open fields at a camp meeting, by falling down and declaring that divine grace has fallen upon me. Oh man ! oh savage

mockery of his holy name ! and yet you will all join in condemning my way of thinking. Well, let it be so. Every one must join some religion or he is hooted from society ; let him but have hold of the skirts and he is safe. There is wood enough, said to be of the true cross, in different churches, to build a line of battle ship, and petticoats enough, said to have belonged to the virgin Mary, to make sails for her, if they were only of No. 1 flax canvas ; so there must be a great imposition in both cases, as the cross was not very large and the virgin's wardrobe not very extensive. And just so in religion ; it is a trade, which is followed from interest more than inclination, where thousands preach to tens of thousands what they do not practice. However, I have deviated from my course, and must bring up lee way.

The law respecting the provisions for seamen is extremely erroneous. Every vessel bound across the Atlantic must have sixty gallons of water, one hundred pounds of salted meat, and one hundred pounds of wholesome ship bread, for every person on board. These articles are to be well secured below the deck. This law was made to provide against disasters at sea ; but it is violated, for it seldom happens that there is necessity for such provision being below deck ; but as meat, bread, and water are all the provisions enumerated by the law, it is concluded that these are all that the seaman can compel the master to give him. It never was the intention of the law to say that seamen should be fed upon beef and bread, although it is often so interpreted. Happily, however, our ship owners and merchants find it to their interest, to put on board such articles as beans, flour, rice, peas, potatoes, fish, coffee, &c. But these are not directed to be put on board by law, nor after they are on board can the seamen compel the master to give them to them as food, so that a seaman may be flogged, starved, worked like a slave, imprisoned, beat, kicked and abused, at the mere whim of the master. What more does he require to make him as despotic as the Sultan of Constantinople, but the small privilege of hanging one or two when he pleases ? Valuable ships and cargoes are sometimes in peril, because the crew are unable to do their duty. This may be caused by scurvy,

which every man would have after a long voyage, were not ship owners more humane than the law. Seamen certainly require, when hungry and drenched by the storm, something more than beef and bread. Coffee is much better than spirits, which were formerly given, and no merchant ought to send his vessel to sea without a sufficient quantity for the crew. And the law ought not to leave it in the power of a master to stop such things from seamen. In the navy the law expressly declares what provisions shall be served to the crew, and the quantity thereof, which is sufficient for any man; but in the merchant service all must depend upon the caprice of the ship-master.

CHAPTER X.

Rules and regulations for the navy—errors therein, and misrepresentation—conduct of the department in investigating complaints—two courts martial—articles 3d, 15th, and 30th, of the navy rules—how violated—the U. S. ship *Fairfield*—cruelty and oppression of her officers—punishment by Lieut. H—m—r—his death and burial—cause thereof—Jimmy Leggs—his villainy and power—his death—disrating officers contrary to law—two officers turned on shore from the *St. Louis*, by orders from M. Dickinson, secretary of the navy.

THE rules and regulations, which are now in force, for the better government of the navy, were passed in Congress at its session of 1799 and 1800, signed by Theodore Sedgwick, speaker of the House of Representatives, Thomas Jefferson, president of the Senate and vice president of the United States, approved by the president, John Adams, on the 23rd of April, 1800, and put in force on the 1st of June of the same year. That is now thirty-nine years ago; since that period our navy and commerce have increased in a ratio unparalleled in the history of any nation, whether ancient or modern. With this increase many changes have taken place. How far the laws which are now in force for the navy were applicable to it then is not for a young man to determine, but that they are inade-

quate to its wants at present is a fact well known to every one in any way acquainted with the service. At that time, and even now in some respects, England was our model; but although we may profit by her experience, we ought not heedlessly to run into her errors. These rules and regulations were in a great measure taken from those in use for the British navy, excepting some little alterations which were made in consideration of the governments being upon a different basis. Other statutes that were then in force in this country, are no longer in existence. They have fallen before the hand of time and march of intellect. Our navy at that time was entirely different from what it is now. The superiors were *hard, weather-beaten fire eaters*, and could fight like tigers, but they wanted that polish and education which marks the officers of a similar grade at the present day. Those old sea dogs had a way of interpreting the laws which has been of infinite injury to the service; and their method of construing them has become so wrought into the navy that nothing but Congress can break it. It is only by comparing the customs of the navy with the laws made by Congress, that the difference will be perceived, as for time immemorial the former has been considered as powerful as the latter. The navy is purely aristocratic, there is not a democratic feature belonging to it, all are ruled and kept under by the authority vested in the chief. When it becomes necessary to delegate such authority to an individual it is extremely requisite that the person holding it should use it with discretion, or be restrained by law, from using it to the injury of the citizen; if not, there is no protection for the inferior. Before the present laws were put in force, or since, some evils and abuses have crept into the navy which nothing but the strong arm of the law can eradicate, so that however imperfect the rules and regulations are, they are much more abused than defective. Until some other law is enacted, those in existence should be followed, and where there is no law bearing upon any case, then sound judgment and the customs of the service, might be resorted to, but not until then. He who goes beyond the law in punishing an offence, is as great a criminal, in its eye, as he who commits the offence, and as such ought

to be punished. By what principle of right or justice can one man punish another for the offence of which he is himself guilty? When extensive authority is delegated to any body of men, whether military or naval, some will be found to abuse it, to coerce those under him, and if he is high in rank it will be found extremely difficult, in many cases, to bring him to punishment, as the power of his office may be used to prevent it. This was clearly proved some years ago. An officer had received injustice at the hands of his captain, he returned to the United States, preferred his complaint, and sought redress from the secretary of the navy; it was unheeded, he resigned, and the circumstances of the case found their way into the public papers, and so glaring was the outrage that it was loudly disapproved of, and a trial was granted to public opinion, although it had been denied to an individual. The captain was tried and found guilty of the charges, and suspended for two years. The punishment was so light that it was the subject of much comment in the papers at the time. There was another instance of a similar nature took place on board of a sloop of war; the commander abused some of the officers, especially the surgeon or assistant surgeon, or both; I do not now remember exactly the minute particulars of the affair; they were tried, the inferior was dismissed, and the commander was sentenced to be suspended for two years, although he was found guilty of a violation of the law for which dismissal was the penalty. The inferior was not satisfied with this method of doing justice, but publicly chastised the superior on the race course at Norfolk, (Va.) Some in our navy have said that the law was not made for captains, and a few have acted as if that were actually the fact. On the former of these cases the navy department would not have acted at all, had it not been for the public press; and to prevent being misunderstood, I must state that the captain had been guilty of oppression to an officer, and punished him otherwise than by suspension, which the law directs shall be the extent of a captain's or commander's authority over an officer. The rules and regulations for the navy expressly state—"Article 3rd, Any officer, or other person in the navy, who shall be guilty of oppression,

cruelty, fraud, profane swearing, drunkenness, or any other scandalous conduct, tending to the corruption of good morals, shall, if an officer, be cashiered, or suffer such other punishment as a court martial shall adjudge; if a private, he may be put in irons, or flogged, at the discretion of the captain, not exceeding twelve lashes; but if the offence require severer punishment, he shall be tried by a court martial, and suffer such punishment as said court shall inflict." There is one portion of this article which is but too often violated, "profane swearing." Any person who has been in the navy, well knows that it is a dead letter, or at least none are punished for it, although many are guilty. It would be difficult to say in what profane swearing consists, if an officer calls upon God to damn a man and goes unpunished. "The articles of war are equally binding on officers and crew; but what a dead letter do they become if officers are permitted to break them with impunity! The captain of a ship will turn hands up to punishment, read the article of war for the transgressing of which the punishment is inflicted, and to show at that time their high respect for the articles of war, the captain and every officer, take off their hats. The moment the hands are piped down, the third article of war, which forbids all swearing, &c. in derogation of God's honor, is immediately disregarded. We are not straight-laced, we care little about an oath, as a mere *expletive*; we refer now to swearing at *others*, to insulting their feelings grossly by coarse and intemperate language. We would not interfere with a man for d—g his *own* eyes, but we deny the right of his d—g those of *another*." The offence following that has repeatedly been committed, but less at the present day than formerly. In this article and several others, it is expressly stated that for any of the offences enumerated "an offender may be put in irons, or flogged, at the discretion of the captain, *not exceeding twelve lashes*." But how often does it happen that a man is put in irons and flogged for the same offence, and few captains pay much attention to that part of the law respecting the number of lashes. It very seldom happens that confinement in irons is considered as a punishment. Seamen lay two or three weeks with their hands and

feet in irons, like common felons, and are then flogged. The old expounders of the law understood it, *and flogged*, instead of, *or flogged*, and that interpretation has been so carefully handed down from father to son, that it is only by referring to the statute that we can perceive their error.

There is only one offence (theft under twenty dollars) for which a captain can, of his own authority, inflict more than twelve lashes, and yet it often happens that seamen receive twice and even thrice that number.

“Article 15. No person in the navy shall quarrel with any other person in the navy, or use provoking or reproachful words, gestures, or menaces, on pain of such punishment as a court martial shall adjudge.” I have heard a captain tell a boatswain that he was not worth his salt, and swear by God, he would throw him overboard. “Article 30. No commanding officer shall, of his own authority, discharge a commissioned or warrant officer, nor strike, nor punish him otherwise than by suspension or confinement; nor shall he, of his own authority, inflict a punishment on any private beyond twelve lashes, with a cat of nine tails, nor shall he suffer any wired, or other than a plain cat of nine tails to be used on board his ship; nor shall any officer who may command by accident, or in the absence of the commanding officer (except such commander be absent for a time by leave) order or inflict any other punishment than confinement, for which he shall account on the return of such commanding officer. Nor shall any commanding officer receive on board any petty officers or men turned over from any other vessel to him, unless each of such officers and men produce to him an account, signed by the captain and purser of the vessel from which they came, specifying the date of such officer's or man's entry, the period and term of service, the sums paid and balance due him, and the quality in which he was rated on board such ship. Nor shall any commanding officer, having received any petty officer, or man, as aforesaid, rate him in a lower or worse station than that in which he formerly served. Any commanding officer offending herein, shall be punished, at the discretion of a court martial.” These articles already quoted are those which are most frequently violated.

On board of the United States ship of the line *Delaware*, in 1829, I have seen the cats, with which prisoners were to be flogged, put into the harness cask, amongst the pickle in which the salt beef had been, in order to make them hard and wiry, and to increase the pain when the skin was broken by the lash. The commodore who commanded that ship, perhaps did not order that to be done, and he may have been ignorant of it; but if so, he was the only person in the ship ignorant of the cruelty; for the punishment that he ordered to be inflicted at the gangway was inflicted with the cats, just taken out of the pickle barrel.

Relative to men being furnished with their accounts, &c., on leaving a vessel, or the captain not rating them lower than the station in which they formerly served, is a mere dead letter. Men's accounts are transferred from purser to purser, without their ever seeing them; and a captain, when a petty officer is brought before him for punishment, will tell the purser to dis-rate him, and give him a flogging at the same time. He will then turn round, and tell the purser to rate him again, when in fact he never has been disrated; and the words are merely made use of to double the law. I am far from asserting that every captain will so trifle with the laws made to govern him; but many have done it, openly; and in order to place the matter fully at rest, I shall quote instances, which I have seen, and for any statement of this nature I am answerable, at any time. My object is not to expose persons; but things ought not to be done which will not bear exposure. My object is to benefit seamen, and to remove those evils and abuses which no good officer can wish to exist in the navy. We (the crew) were drafted on board the United States ship *Fairfield*, on the 3d of August, 1828, and from that time until she was paid off, which was in May, 1831, I do not believe that a single day elapsed that punishment, by flogging, did not take place,—at least, for the nine months that I remained on board, I can answer for the fact. At that time there was a custom in the service, (directly contrary to law,) whereby any officer of the deck could inflict punishment; but for the credit of the navy it must be told, that this has very seldom been the case of late years, for few

captains will allow it, at the present day, to be done on board of their vessels. This was not punishment with the cat, which the law directs to be the instrument of punishment, but with what is termed "a colt:" this is a piece of eighteen-thread ratline, or one-inch rope, and generally has one or two hard twine whippings upon each end. Twelve lashes with this, over a thin frock or shirt, gave greater pain and bruised the flesh more than the cat would have done; and it was with this instrument that the deck officers of the *Fairfield* punished the men, and there was no limit to the number of lashes, but just as many as it might please the officer to order—sometimes one, and at other times as many as three, dozen. Such punishment frequently brought the blood through the shirt, and often left the flesh black for two or three weeks, and then yellow for as many more, before it healed perfectly.

Punishment on board that vessel was not always inflicted in the face of day; many a cruel deed has the pale moon witnessed upon her deck. This was directly contrary to the law, which only vests captains with power to punish, and then not exceeding twelve lashes for any one offence. There is no single offence but what two or more may be made of it, if such is the captain's wish. Drunkenness, for instance, is drunkenness, disobedience of orders—very likely, neglect of duty, insolence, and insubordination; for when liquor is in, wit is out, and the offences which a man may then commit will subject him to three or four dozen lashes. I will relate some occurrences, which took place after I left the *Fairfield*, as I knew them to be. One night, while the ship was on her way from Smyrna to Mahon, it fell calm, and the officer of the deck, Lieut. H——r, ordered the forecastle men and fore top men to man the fore clue garnets and buntlines, and stand by to haul up the foresail. The word was given, and the sail hauled up, but not so quickly as he wished it to be. The yards were braced sharp up, and, as there was no wind, the fore tack and sheet blocks caught in the lee fore rigging, on the ratlines, and a man had to clear them. Nothing, however, would be taken as an excuse, and he flogged the whole watch of the forecastle and fore top men, giving them one dozen each, and ordered them forward to set

the sail again. It was set, and they were ordered to man the clue garnets and buntlines, to haul it up again. The lee clue caught in the rigging as before, and he flogged them all again. Once more the sail was set, and hauled up with the same results; in fact, it was a moral impossibility to run the lee clue right up, as the heavy blocks would catch in the rigging; and the men were flogged three times, in less than one hour. There were eleven men in the fore top, and twelve on the fore-castle, making twenty-three men, punished with three dozen lashes each, for no offence under the face of heaven. Eight bells (midnight) were struck, and before the tyrant was relieved by another officer, he ordered one of the midshipmen to tell the purser's steward to stop their grog for twenty-four hours. This caitiff, this monster, however, did not long survive the act. His wicked, abominable soul, tempted him, after the ship arrived in port, to propose the commission of a crime for which there is no punishment prescribed in the naval code of laws—it being too unnatural for the legislators of our country ever to think of. On this horrible affair being reported to the captain, he was suspended; and finding that no human being could ever again countenance him, he shot himself, in his state room. The sentinel, when his remains passed over the larboard gangway, turned his back. No funeral note was heard. He was huddled into the grave by a single officer and boat's crew. A fit end for tyrants!

There was an individual on board of that ship whose name was Sterritt; but he was better known in the navy, by the cognomen of "Jimmey Leggs." He had been on board the frigate *Constitution*, as a master at arms, and had there incurred such hatred, for his tyranny and villainy, that his life was unsafe. On the arrival of that ship in Boston, he was sent on shore, in order to give him a chance to escape the vengeance of the crew. He fled to New York, where he was pursued by the sailors, and he took refuge by shipping again in the navy, on board of the receiving ship; and when the *Fairfield* was commissioned he was taken on board, in his former capacity of master at arms, where free liberty was given him to indulge his disposition. This man was destitute of every moral or honora-

ble principle—destitute alike of every good feeling that reigns in the human breast; and the punishment which he had at different times received from seamen, for his cruelty towards them, only increased his malignity and hatred. He had been several times so badly bruised and injured by them, that his life was despaired of—and on one occasion, they had committed an act upon his person which left him of the neuter gender, or of “no sex, at all,” as Byron expresses it. But he recovered; and the seamen, who are ever ready to ascribe to supernatural agency the most common occurrences, believed him to be in league with his great prototype, the devil. When the *Fairfield* was in Marseilles, the crew attempted to hang him. It was in the evening, and he was sitting at the galley, drinking a pot of coffee, which he had gotten by the fears of one of the cooks; for none would have given him any thing, from love. A rope was passed down the fore scuttle, with the hangman’s knot in it, and thrown over his head; the rest of the conspirators hauled upon deck, for it was rove through a block on the fore yard; but, unfortunately, he caught under one of the hammocks while making his unexpected exit, and got his hands between his neck and the rope, which gave him a chance to shout murder, and he was rescued by the marines. A number of the crew were put in irons, on suspicion, but nothing transpired to prove who were concerned in the affair. His own brother was on board, but he hated him as much as any man. Had he not caught under the hammock, he would have died the death befitting such a man. This monster was allowed to carry a “colt,” and use it upon any man that he thought proper; thus giving him the same power that the law vests in a captain. He would flog a man on the berth deck, and then report him to the officer of the deck, who would flog him again. I was witness to one instance of his having a man punished. One morning, when the hammocks were piped up, Ned Edwards, captain of the fore top, was the last one in lashing up his, and the master of arms hauled out his colt to strike him. The man said, “Don’t strike me, master at arms; if I have done any thing wrong, report me to the officer of the deck.” He did strike, however, and Edwards knocked him down. For this he was

put in irons, and sometime afterwards brought before the captain to be flogged for the same offence. The captain asked him how he came to do the deed. The man stated the circumstance, which the master at arms did not deny; but he was flogged, and received eighteen lashes, while the first offender went unpunished. This is only one instance, but I could quote hundreds. This notorious character was the brother of the O'Hare who was hung at Baltimore, many years ago, for robbing the mail. After the death of his brother, he assumed another name. He fell, the first victim to the cholera morbus, in 1834, on board the receiving ship Hudson, at New York—dying, despised and hated by all who knew him, without one friend to console him in his last moments, or close his eyes in death. Had that fell disease only carried off such as he was, it would have been a blessing instead of a scourge.

Previous to our sailing from New York, D. Lloyd came on board as a master's mate, and Isaac Hadsor, as gunner. The latter was appointed to this office by Commodore Chauncey, the commandant of the navy yard, and both these persons wore the uniform belonging to their respective ranks. The former was one of the best practical navigators that we ever had in the navy, and is now in the service of Texas, as a master. He incurred the displeasure of the commander, for some offence, and for which, without any form of trial, he was disrated from his rank, and compelled to serve as a common seaman, in the fore top, in direct contradiction to the law. If he was guilty of any offence he ought to have been tried and punished, but that punishment could not extend further than to his dismissal. He came on board as an officer, and messed with the midshipmen. He had never signed any articles of agreement by which he was bound to serve in another capacity. He applied for his discharge, but it was denied him, on the grounds that his name being on the books was a sufficient warrant to detain him. But the same reasoning could be applied to any other officer, and the same unlawful measures put in force against him. The gunner was also disrated, without any form of trial, and put to serve as a seaman, on the forecastle, although the time for which he had enlisted had long expired. The carpenter was

an old man, but his age did not protect him from insult. He was often told, "You are a worthless old rascal—I would not give your mate for a dozen of you; you are not worth your salt," &c. The man was so annoyed, that, as soon as he saved money enough from his small pay, which was then only twenty dollars per month and two rations, he returned to the United States, in a private vessel. At the end of nine months, I joined the Delaware, with the late Capt., then Lieut. Mix; and the same usage still continued on board the Fairfield.

With regard to the dismissal of officers, the Department set a pretty example; when Mr. Dickerson was at the head of it. Some secret report was made against the boatswain and carpenter of the St. Louis, and orders were sent to the commander to turn them both on shore; and that was carried out in the same spirit with the order, for they were compelled to leave the ship in half an hour. What the nature of their offence was they knew not, and had no chance to reply to it. The law respecting courts martial, says, that an officer preferring charges against another, shall forward such charges to the Department, giving the accused a copy; but in this case neither was done. They were dismissed without a reason being stated, except that such was the will and pleasure of the secretary of the navy. The President may have a right to dismiss an officer; but I have too much respect for General Jackson, to suppose that he would have done so, had he known the state of the case. How much more honorable it would have been to have given those men a trial, and allowed them the privilege of defending their character from calumny and misrepresentation; and driving them out of the ship, in half an hour, was a meanness for which there can be no excuse. Both of the men were warrant officers.

There has been a change made under the sanction of the present secretary of the navy, which I record the more willingly as I am convinced that Mr. Paulding permitted the traffic, without reflecting on the consequences, or considering that he was wronging a deserving officer.

The boatswain of one of our navy yards (not a hundred miles from Charlestown) died, or rather came by an untimely

death, and his situation as a matter of course became vacated. A short time afterwards an appointment with orders to the navy yard was sent by the department to the foreman of the late boatswain, who was a worthy deserving man, but he declined accepting either; as he knew that so doing would render him liable to be sent to sea at any moment, and preferred what he earned by his daily labor, in the bosom of his family and friends, to the trappings of office and absence from them for three years at a time. There was an old boatswain on the station who had served long and faithfully, and had received an injury while in active service which rendered him unfit for duty on board of a sea-going vessel, but that did not incapacitate him from performing his duty in a navy yard, and which he naturally looked forward to as the reward of his long services, and applied for the vacant situation. He did not receive it. It happened that there was an old warranted gunner on the station, who had formerly been gunner of the yard, but was removed on the arrival of the *Potomac* from a cruise round the world, as he had been longer than his usual time in the yard, to make room for another who had been in active sea service ever since the war, and who more than any other of his grade was entitled to a navy yard. This other gunner has several times tried to get into the yard again, but he has been unsuccessful. On the death of the boatswain he offered to resign his gunner's warrant for a boatswain's appointment and orders to the navy yard, and strange to say, his offer was accepted, and he has now got the yard. If this man has paid the attention that he ought to his duty as a gunner he cannot be fit for a boatswain, although he may be a good seaman, any more than a salesman in a dry goods store would be fit for the same situation in a grocery. Making such an offer must entitle him to the scorn and detestation of his brother officers. Upon the same principle he may, should the gunner's situation in the yard become vacant, apply for his warrant again, and shift back to the manifest injury of others. If he had no more regard for his warrant than to be ready to barter it for an appointment, he is not deserving of either; for it is apparent to all that he is only making a tool of the service to serve his own ends, with-

out having the least *esprit du corps*. It is not his meanness and consummate impudence that so much entitles him to scorn and detestation, as his want of principle and sense of justice, for he knew that he had not the most remote claim on the vacant situation ; and if he got it, he knew that he had done so at the expense of a brother officer who had just claims, and that he was gouging him and taking the very bread from his mouth. A man who can do an act of this sort is unworthy of a place on the rolls of the navy, "where every principle tending to honor is taught, if followed." That the boatswain who was set aside for this *ci devant* gunner is capable of filling the situation, is proved by the length of time that he has held his appointment, and there is nothing against his moral character. If Mr. Paulding has that sense of justice, and is disposed to do justice to those over whom he holds the reins of authority without reference to rank and favoritism, and for such an intention I am willing to give him credit, he must look upon this in the same light that all others do, viz. as an act of rank injustice. He may reconsider it and set all right again by making each of the parties resume their proper place. If this gunner is anxious for active service, let him go to sea, or wait patiently upon his leave of absence pay until a chance turns up for him in the course of service, as many better men have to do. But he has shown to what acts of meanness men will sometimes bend, and fixed a blot upon his character that will not easily be erased or forgotten.

In justice to myself and the parties alluded to, I must state that I do not know the gunner, am only slightly acquainted with the boatswain, and that I have not seen nor received any letter or message from the latter, either directly or indirectly, and that in exposing the affair I am actuated by a sense of justice alone.

For some time past Commodore Chauncey has acted as secretary of the navy, and by him the officers were ordered to the U. S. frigate United States and sloop-of-war Marion. The carpenters of Portsmouth and Charlestown yards have both been ordered to them ; the former to the Marion, where his pay is five hundred dollars, and the latter to the United States, at six

hundred dollars per annum. The former is senior to the latter by the date of his warrant, and served on board the *Vandalia* on the West India station for nearly four years, and was the only officer who remained in that ship the whole cruise. She had several captains and sets of other officers who soon became invalids from the unhealthiness of the climate. Now this officer is ordered to a sloop-of-war again, while another who has not seen so much service is ordered to a frigate. In point of qualifications and moral character neither can claim precedence over the other, as both of the gentlemen are an ornament to their grade, therefore justice ought to have been done in regard to the class of the vessel to which they were ordered.

Commodore Chauncey cannot plead ignorance as an excuse, for he surely knows enough of the service to suppose that the injured party must have felt aggrieved at the slight thrown upon him. How would the commodore like being ordered to a sloop-of-war while a junior had command of a frigate on the same station. He would swell up like the frog in the fable, and threaten the navy with destruction by resigning. The anti administration papers would take up his cause, and terrible would be the splash of *ink*. The Commodore's gallant exploits would be rehearsed and his arduous services (in navy yards and at the navy board for the last twenty years) would be enumerated, and more ink spilled in his defence than he ever could shed of enemy's blood. Crocodile tears would be shed by the bucket full; aye, as plentiful and fully sincere as those that watered the grave of a late member of Congress, who fell in a duel.

Ah, Commodore, hard have you tried to get an admiral's flag, and you deserve it, but never will it fly at your main-mast head, so long as you show a disposition to trample upon inferiors. You must have forgotten the principle features in the declaration of independence and constitution of our country: "All men are born equal." But you would prevent the toe of the plebeian from grazing the kibe of the patrician. Haply however, the members of our national legislature are not so aristocratic in their notions as you are. Your commission may allow you to trample on your inferiors in rank, but you cannot sway

the councils of the nation. To do to others as you would be done by, is a good precept, but you often deviate from it. You have now arrived at a time of life when it is natural to suppose that you would issue the edicts of your office as much in accordance with justice as possible. But no, you still give proof of that despotic disposition which formerly was your failing. I once loved and esteemed you, but both must cease when I see you do that to a warrant officer that you dare not do to a commissioned one. You ought to bear in mind too, that forward officers are not now what they were when you commanded a vessel. "A change has come o'er the spirit of their dream;" they are now gentlemen with ties of kindred, home and friends to bind them to their country, and have a lively sense of injustice, and cannot be curbed and brow-beat like the fire-eaters of your day, who budded in the sunshine of your favor or withered under the ungenial shade of your frown and displeasure. Your days are now drawing to a close, and 'twere well to spend the few remaining, in endeavoring to better the condition of a class of men too long neglected. You have influence, use it in their behalf, and let their tears and prayers follow you to your grave. You ought by this time to cast aside ambition (and leave it to your gallant sons who are following the path of glory and are an honor to any father,) and do something for common sailors whom you have heretofore neglected. Do so, and when you are taken from amongst us, they will drop a sympathetic tear on the sod consecrated to your remains.

CHAPTER XI.

Flogging on board the *Fairfield*, seen from the *Delaware's* tops, and the cause—purser and first lieutenant at loggerheads—subsequent conduct of the first lieutenant—crew allowed to draw articles from the purser without limitation—bright work—the U. S. ship *Lexington*, Capt. D——n—instances of unjust punishment—Wm. McIntire—his death—Lt. St——gs—his ignorance—Captain D——n instructs him how to take in sail—liberty given the crew for ninety-nine years—Captain McKeever takes the ship—his kindness.

ONE morning, after I had joined the *Delaware*, we were aloft squaring yards, when we observed an unusual deal of punishment inflicted on board the *Fairfield*, that lay close to us. She being a small vessel, we could look down from our tops upon her decks. Two boatswain's mates, under the direction of the first lieutenant, were employed for upwards of half an hour flogging men. When one of her boats came alongside of us we ascertained the cause. It appeared that all men who had put down upon the mess bills for more than one jack knife, or pound of tobacco, or for a case of razors, were flogged for so doing. The mess bills are printed and issued monthly, with the articles in columns, which the purser has for sale, such as needles, tape, tea and sugar, knives, tobacco, &c., and every man is expected to put down on them for what he pleases, then they are sent to the first lieutenant, and by him to the captain, for approval, before the articles are issued. They are merely requisitions, which the captain may approve of or not, as he thinks fit, and if he sees any man has put down for more things than he thinks he actually requires for his own use, he may cross it out or alter it to what he thinks proper. In the name of justice what were these bills given to the men for if they were to be punished for putting down for articles on them? It was the most tyrannical act I ever knew committed in the navy. Upwards of six hundred lashes were inflicted on men that morning, and can only be explained by informing the public that the first lieutenant and the purser

were on bad terms, and the former could find no other way to show his spleen, or to annoy the latter, than by flogging the men for buying his goods. It was not done with any view to save the men their wages, but to the contrary. The purser left the ship and another purser joined her, yet when the ship went into Marseilles some time afterwards, the same first lieutenant allowed the purser's store-room to be opened for a week, and the men were permitted to purchase what they chose, to sell it again; and so well did they avail themselves of the indulgence that many of them returned to the United States, after being absent two years and nine months, without having a dollar due them. In addition to the severe punishments inflicted, the most harrassing and unnecessary work was done on board that ship; every handspike, crow-bar, and belaying-pin was scoured bright; the iron straps of snatch blocks, iron travellers round the masts, linchpins of the guns, ringbolts in the deck, trainbolts in the gun carriages, iron rail round the fore-castle, and the iron straps of the cat blocks were all kept as bright as silver; and many hundreds of floggings did keeping these bright occasion; which was entirely out of order, and as such was laughed at by the rest of the officers on the station. In 1834, an officer told me that "he had had a compliment paid him on the *Fairfield*." He said, "Commodore Downes," who was then in New York, after returning in the *Potomac* from her cruise round the world, "said that the *Fairfield* was the neatest ship he had ever seen in his life, and that he had only one fault to find, that was, that there was too much bright work on board of her." Had the gallant Commodore known all, he would have had more to condemn than bright work. She was what is termed a strict ship, by disciplinarians, "God save the mark," and keep every seaman from such a vessel. She was a hell afloat, a perfect floating home of cruelty, tyranny, and oppression. It cannot well be imagined, the injury that is done to a young officer by serving on board of such a ship as the *Fairfield*; they come on board with their sympathies and feelings warm from the paternal hearth, and have them so chilled and warped by being thrust into such a den of cruelty and oppression, that it will affect them for the rest of

their lives. They are young, and enter upon a profession of which they have not the most distant idea, and the impressions that are first made upon them will be the most lasting; what they first see they will suppose to be right, and thereby may remain in error for the rest of their lives. If they are predisposed to tyrannise, it becomes rooted, for they have an ample opportunity to indulge in it, and their word or report at any time will cause the lash to be inflicted. I would not willingly say anything against the captain who commanded the ship, for I have seen him since in a navy yard, where he appeared to treat every one with kindness; but there is no excuse, with regard to his not knowing that these things occurred on board of his ship, for men were repeatedly punished while he was walking the deck, without his interfering or saying that it was wrong; and when the most severe punishments took place he could hear the sound of every lash, sitting in his cabin, independent of the cries of the victims from pain, or their supplications for mercy, so that nothing could have been expected from him in the way of redress. All reports had to go to him through the first lieutenant, to whom no man, who had any regard for his back, would have made a report against any officer. Some notice was taken of the abuse of power in that ship, by the newspapers, after she arrived; and the *Globe*, the recognised organ of the administration, stated that it could scarcely be the case, as all reports made to the department of his nature were attended to, and investigated; but where officers have been unable to procure redress, another fate for complaints from seamen could barely be expected. That the officers of the *Fairfield* were to blame for their treatment of the crew will not admit of a doubt; but the greatest portion of that blame rests with the Captain, for in him the power is vested to correct all such as are guilty of offences against the law, whether officer or private, and had he given an order that no officer should punish a private, he would not have dared to have done it in opposition to the orders of his commander, from fear of being court martialed. I am well satisfied that the captain of that ship has often regretted his neglect in not preventing the cruelty that was so common under his command, and

as his next ship will be a frigate, it is to be hoped that he will make atonement for the past.

I was on board the *Lexington*, on the coast of Brazil, from 1831 to 1834, and during the first part of her cruise several very severe and unjust punishments took place. The captain was a kind man, but often very passionate, and when so, very unjust. He allowed no punishment on board but what he inflicted himself; but he sometimes went far beyond the law in punishing petty offences. When we were at the Falkland Islands, the men were put on allowance, in consequence of the provisions on board being likely to run short. Having gone from a warm climate to a cold one, their appetites increased and made the allowance too little, and this created a ferment among the crew. One day they had been called aft, and a vehement lecture read them by the captain; they were sent forward, and the yeoman made some remark, which was overheard by Lieutenant J. S——gs, who immediately reported it to the captain. All hands were instantly called to witness punishment. The marines were turned out with fixed bayonets, and the captain brought a pair of ship's pistols from the cabin, loaded with ball cartridges, which he laid upon the capstan; the man was then ordered to strip, which he did without a murmur, as he knew that to attempt to appease the captain would be like trying to stop the sea from raging. He was seized up, and received twenty-four lashes, without a stop. The weather was extremely cold, being in so high a latitude, but the man bore his punishment in silence; his lips writhed, but no complaint escaped him. He was taken down and warned not to grumble about provisions again, under penalty of receiving twice the number of lashes. He spoke not, but those who looked upon his calmness, knew that it was the calmness of resolution. Had Capt. D. lived until that man returned to the United States, it would have been bad for both of them. This punishment was inflicted directly contrary to law, for it declares that a captain shall only punish a private, and this man was a petty officer; he shall not punish beyond twelve lashes, and yet he inflicted twenty-four.

About the same time a more severe punishment took place.

Wm. McIntire, a tailor, who was employed by the captain in his cabin, had persuaded one of the cabin boys to give him some of the captain's brandy, which the steward missed, and reported. The man was not drunk, but he had drank the brandy, and for so doing was brought to the gangway and punished with three dozen lashes upon the bare back. It was his first and last flogging; he did not long survive it; it sank deep into his heart, and he never more held up his head. He sleeps the sleep of death, on the bleak, barren Falkland Islands, far from his home and friends. I dare the medical men that were on board that ship to say that he did not die in consequence of the flogging he received, and the victim of cruelty and oppression.

In Rio de Janeiro, some time afterwards, a number of men had been confined in irons, and were brought to the gangway to be punished; one of them, Collin Lamont, said, loud enough to be heard by the captain, when he was ordered to take off his shirt, "if you go on this way you will soon make a ship of her." The captain's passion so overcame him that he did not wait to draw his sword, but beat the man about the head and face with it in the scabbard, for some time; and when his strength failed, he ordered him to be seized to the gratings, and inflicted thirty-eight lashes upon his bare back, and would have gone further, but the surgeon interfered, and declared the man to be unable to bear any more at that time. He was taken from the gratings, more dead than alive, and put into double irons, in order to prepare him for a second part of the punishment intended for him; but the passion which overruled the captain when he first punished him gave way to reason, and he ordered him to be released.

Such were some of the proceedings on board that ship. It may naturally be supposed that it showed a littleness in the lieutenant, who had the man punished at the Falkland Islands, to work upon the irritable feelings of his commander, when he knew him to be so liable to go to extremes when under the influence of passion, but he had no other way that he could show his zeal, or gain his commander's affections. He was utterly incapable as an officer, and could not give the orders

properly to take in the light sails. So notorious was the fact that the whole crew frequently openly laughed at his ignorance, which induced the captain to say, in the general order book of the ship, that the proper order to be given on an occasion alluded to, was to say, "In royals and top gallant studding sails, down flying jib." The smallest midshipman in the ship knew this; but Lt. S——gs did not. As a scholar or mathematician he is far below mediocrity; he may do well enough where he is now, on board of a steamship, but he ought never to be entrusted with the charge of the deck on board of any other vessel. Poor creature, he would look upon men with sovereign contempt, when he was on board the Lexington, who were his superiors in every point except in rank; but I will not expose him further, as my object is general good, not personal injury.

The captain of the Lexington, when he was not angry, was a kind-hearted man, and would extend every indulgence to his crew. If a man carried him a requisition on the purser for money he would always sign it, and never would deny a man liberty to go on shore if he applied to him when he was in good humor. Before the ship sailed from Norfolk, he allowed ten or fifteen men to go on shore every night, and although they had been newly shipped, and were in debt to the government, only one deserted out of the whole crew. He went upon the plan that a man who would desert was not worth retaining, and carried this to an extreme extent on the coast of Brazil. He said that he could not discharge the men in a foreign port, but he would give them liberty for ninety-nine years. He could not pay them their wages, but he would let them buy clothing from the purser to the amount of what was due them. Under this plan many of the most valuable men left the ship, and foreign musicians to the number of twenty-five were shipped in their place. Those that left the ship in this manner were marked upon the muster roll as deserters, while in fact they were not, which was a fraud practiced to blind the navy department to the true state of things. Captain D. was a strictly temperate man, very rarely even drank wine, but he would not punish a man for drunkenness who had not been

guilty of any other offence ; and if a man took French liberty, that is, went on shore without permission, if he returned of his own accord, he would not be flogged. Those that stopped their ration of spirits he directed the purser to pay them for it every month, or when the ship arrived in port, which was an excellent plan, and ought to be adopted in all our vessels of war, in order to discountenance the use of ardent spirits until some law is made upon the subject. Captain D. was too severe in some cases, and too lenient in others, and the ship became a perfect bedlam ; but fortunately he was relieved by an officer the very reverse. Captain McKeever, and Lieutenant Joseph Myers came out to join the ship, after we had been upwards of a year upon the station ; the former as commander, and the latter as first lieutenant, and a change soon took place, so that there was less punishment, better discipline, and more real happiness on board of her, than in any vessel in which I have ever served. Were all commanders like Captain McKeever the navy would never want seamen. I do not think that there was ever a man that sailed with him who would not be happy to do so again. The officer and gentleman were apparent in all that he did. He did not consider it any disgrace to bring liberty men off with him in his gig, when they were drunk and likely to be hurt by remaining on shore. This, and a thousand other acts of kindness soon endeared him to his men, who would have followed him, from love and choice, to the cannon's mouth. It affords me pleasure to do him a small portion of the justice that he deserves, for his humanity and kindness to the men whom he was appointed to command. The day that he joined the ship all hands were called to muster ; he addressed the crew for some time, and then said, " Drunkenness is the bane of every naval service, and is the cause of much otherwise unnecessary punishment ; were it not for this cause seamen would be taken into the bosom of society and receive the same attention there that others do ; but until they have laid aside that vice they must be content to remain beyond the line that virtuous people have drawn to prevent the approach of evil. Drunkenness is a crime, (he continued) which I never will forgive, except where

a man may have been on liberty. The government has vested me with power to punish and forgive; but lenity never will be extended to those, who in open violation of the laws enacted for their good, wilfully commit this offence. In other cases I shall be governed by the feelings of regard which I must ever entertain for those whom I command, and to whom I will allow all the privileges and liberty that the laws of the service or the nature of the case will admit of. There is no sentinel at my cabin door, and those who have any complaints to make, or redress to seek, may come to me; I am always ready to listen to the one and redress the other; and any man who makes a complaint from ignorance, I shall endeavor to convince, but never punish. If any one imagines that I have done wrong I am ready to listen to, and will try to show him that I have done right. All the by-laws and general orders of my predecessor will remain in force, and when it becomes necessary to alter any of them it shall be communicated to you through the first lieutenant. Pipe down sir." This address, for the above is the substance of it, had a good effect upon the men, who swore at once that they loved him, and that love increased as they became better acquainted with his many virtues and amiable qualities. Punishment was a rare occurrence afterwards; months would pass by without a man being on the report. A commodore came out, some time after Captain McKeever joined the ship, to take command of the squadron, and made the Lexington his flag ship; he lived on board of her, but left the entire command of the ship to the captain. He said, one day in my hearing, that he would always, when in command of a ship, take the master-at-arms' report and punish all upon it, urging as a reason, that unless a man deserved punishment he would not be confined by the officer of the deck. Captain McKeever replied, "I will differ with you, sir; I am judge of the conduct of officers as well as men, both are liable to err, and I shall always punish the one as quick as I would the other." This practice of punishing from the report was but too common in the navy among those old fellows who had crept into the cabin windows, but it is daily becoming less so. Where officers of the deck are not

allowed to punish men, they have the power to order them to be confined in irons, and tell the master-at-arms what offence they were guilty of. He then makes out a report, stating the man's name, when he was confined, how, and by whom confined, and his offence; this report goes to the captain daily, and from it many have been in the habit of punishing without hearing one word from the accused in mitigation of the offence, and without being permitted to call any witness to prove that he was not guilty. Indeed, I have seen a captain come out of his cabin, order a man to strip and be flogged, when the man could have proved that he was not the guilty person; but the captain would order him to keep silence, under penalty of receiving a double punishment. When young officers are on board of a ship with such a captain they often give way to animosity or hatred, and have the objects of them punished; in proof of which, I will relate an occurrence of this nature that I was informed took place on board the frigate *Potomac*, when under the command of Commodore Downes. A man had been confined in irons for being insolent to an officer, and was brought up before the commodore for punishment. The commodore asked the officer if the man had been very insolent to him, and he replied in the affirmative; "what did you say to the officer, my man?" continued the commodore, addressing the accused. "I told him sir," said the man, putting aside his grey hair, for he was old, "when he said 'God d—n you, I'll jump down your throat,' that I did not want to take a puke." "A very proper reply to such a remark," said the commodore; "go about your business." If Commodore Downes did not afterwards censure the officer, he did enough to show him that he disapproved of such language.

The legislators who framed the rules and regulations for the navy, altered them very materially from the English laws; they thought that if British seamen could stand from one to six hundred lashes, that there would be no danger in vesting a court martial with power to inflict one hundred lashes on a seaman, and this they fixed as the greatest extent of their power. And they supposed that punishments in such cases are inflicted in a similar manner in both services, although ninety in a hun-

dred of our naval officers of the present day think that the mode and instrument of punishment are the same, which is not the case. In the British navy, when a seaman is to be punished, pursuant to the sentence of a court martial, he is stripped and a kind of cushion fixed under his arms and round his body and small of the back, which exposes only his shoulders to the lash; whereas in the American navy the culprit is stripped to his waist, and seized up, and as the boatswain's mates cannot always strike in one place, his whole back is cut with the lash, including under his arms and upon the ribs, &c., which is extremely painful, as any seaman can testify who has ever been flogged; so that one hundred lashes in our service, according to our mode, is as great an injury to the constitution, and produces greater pain and suffering than four times the number would, according to the English fashion. On this subject none of our naval officers have ever spoken, which is to be attributed to their ignorance of the fact, rather than any wish to create greater suffering than the law allows in such extreme cases; but when the navy regulations are revised it is to be hoped that this will not be overlooked. Captain S—— of the Warren supported charges against a man, in 1829, and had him sentenced to receive the extreme of the punishment allowed by the law. He struck an officer when he was drunk on shore, and that officer had not the generosity to forgive him for the offence. The man went through the squadron, receiving thirty-four lashes on board the Delaware, thirty-three on board the Java, and thirty-three on board the Warren; on board the Delaware and Warren the punishment was inflicted as severely as if he had to receive only one dozen, but on board the Java, Captain Downes told the boatswain's mate to remember that the man had to go through the fleet. The man is long since in his grave, and the officer who reported him was dismissed because he could not pass an examination, after receiving seven or eight year's pay in the navy. The captain passes for a religious character, but I wonder if his conduct on board the Warren showed it. The boatswain was a stout man, and the captain was under the impression that he could flog harder than his mates, and on one occasion ordered

him to take the cats ; it was an unusual and improper order, but he knew if he refused, that his captain would bring him to a court martial for some offence or other, but he was determined not to answer his expectations by being made the tool of tyranny. The first lash the boatswain gave the man, the captain ordered him to lay down the cats, observing that it would take six dozen of such lashes to wake a man up. He would very often ask a man if the dozen lashes that he had received was as good as a glass of *Castle street* (in Mahon) bitters to him. He despised drinking, and like many others, went to extremes in preventing it. If such acts as he was guilty of on board the *Warren*, are precepts inculcated by his religion, I hope every captain in the American navy will steer clear of his church.

Captain Marryatt says, in *Midshipman Easy*, "We have pointed out errors which have existed, and still do exist, in a service which is an honor to its country ; for what is there on earth that is perfect, or into which, if it once was perfect, abuses will not creep? Unfortunately, others have written to decry the service, and many have raised up their voices against our writings, because they felt that in exposing error we were exposing them." Here the case is different, I am exposing individuals, and not the whole service. The medicine might have the same benefit and be more palatable, in the form of fiction, and not so likely to be refused or nauseated ; but that species of writing cannot be attempted by a common seaman, who is therefore compelled to have resource to plain matter of fact.

CHAPTER XII.

The United States ship Delaware taken out by Capt. Downes—the commodore makes one cruise in her, and joins the Fairfield—the treaty with the Turks concluded by Commodore Biddle—digression—expenses of the Delaware, while laying in Mahon—injury to junior officers, from that cause—the crew deprived of liberty, and abused—the consequences—the commodore's conduct in Carthagea—his orders, and reserved habits—his treatment of Commodore Staines—the Warren—conduct of the captain and officers—kindness of Lieut. Junius J. Boyle.

THE United States ship of the line Delaware sailed from Hampton Roads, for the Mediterranean, in the beginning of the year 1828. She carried one of the Bonaparte family to Leghorn, and then went to Port Mahon, when the commodore transferred his flag to her, and Capt. Downes assumed the command of the frigate Java. Soon after this, the Delaware sailed on a short cruise and returned to Mahon, where we found her, on our arrival in the United States ship Fairfield. As soon as we had watered ship, the commodore came on board of us, and we carried him to Smyrna, for the purpose, it was said, of co-operating with an envoy that we had carried out to negotiate a treaty with the Turks, to have our trade extended into the Black Sea. But both were unsuccessful, and it was left for Commodore Biddle to accomplish what diplomatists had tried in vain. We carried that gallant little officer to Smyrna, some time afterwards, in the Lexington; from which place he took a conveyance, and, accompanied by his secretary and Dr. Adey, started for Constantinople. On his arrival there he soon ascertained, that if he followed in the steps of those who had preceded him, he would meet with the same success; as on business days, the sultan and his ministers were surrounded by the British and other ambassadors, who would have gone further to keep our trade out of the Black Sea, than we would to have it extended there. Commodore Biddle saw, at a glance, how matters stood, and that if he depended upon pressing his suit,

on audience days, he would come out of the small end of the horn. He soon found, or rather took, an opportunity to press his suit, and was successful. He returned to Smyrna, after being absent only eight or ten days, where several merchant vessels were waiting freight, and on hearing that the treaty was signed, made sail for the Black Sea. So that the first intimation the British minister had of the treaty being concluded, was the sight of the stripes and stars waving off the sublime porte, on their way to the Black Sea. This alone, if no other, ought to show our government the propriety of entrusting such missions oftener to our military and naval officers, who, by their education and general knowledge, are better acquainted, and have a great advantage over men whose merits but too often consist in their successfully having supported their party—and whose whole time and study have been devoted to that object, and who are, very frequently, totally ignorant of the affairs, manners and customs, of foreign courts. But alas! of what am I writing? We well know, when a *critter* is killed in the slaughter house of the state, that there are enough of hungry dogs always ready to devour, not only the choice cuts, but even the neck, flanks, shin bones, and *shank painters*. If any of this herd are dissatisfied with what may fall to their lot, they are silenced by the head butcher, who tells them to be content with what they get, and look for better next time. They are, generally, obedient *curs*, who stretch themselves before the shamble door, with their bone between their fore paws, which they never relinquish until it is completely cleared of all nutritious substance, or, at least, until they expect another, when it is left to the more ignoble of their species, a swarm of which are always in the back ground, ready to take the place of those who become gluttoned to satiety. These latter generally consist of *petty postmasters*, and *deputy collectors*, who do not collect enough, very often, to pay them for their arduous services, and the contempt that they receive from their fellow citizens; but yet they must be paid, as they are very useful, especially about election time, in picking up stragglers from the convoy, who might otherwise fall into the hands of the enemy. Every shot fired at that time, whether from a bum boat or ship of the line,

tells. Perhaps the reader will say, especially if he is an office holder, that I, being a sailor, had better confine myself to tarring rigging and strapping blocks, than to be meddling with politics. True, it is, that the former is not so dirty a job as the latter, nor are people so well paid for it; but yet I must have my laugh at those who would dare to call themselves superior to a poor son of the ocean. How I should like to see the office holders mustered round the capstan, on a Sunday. My eye, I reckon some of them would get their grog stopped, for being dirty, or having uncombed locks. How they would look, if paraded on Boston common, with the postmaster general, the father of office holders, at their head. "Blue spirits and white, green spirits and grey," all looking towards their leader, with looks of filial love.

✓ "Honest, honest *Amos*! if that thou art a devil,
I cannot kill thee."

But avast heaving; I must resume. We returned to Mahon, in the *Fairfield*, after being absent six months. During this time the *Delaware* had been laying in port, at an expense of nearly \$20,000 per month, exclusive of expenses of outfits and wear and tear, keeping the schooner *Porpoise* running between Mahon and Gibraltar to supply her with small stores: and if we wished foreigners to know that we had a ship of the line on the station, we had to tell them so; for they never saw her, unless they visited Mahon, where she lay snugly moored, with upwards of nine hundred as brave officers and men on board as ever trod a plank, cursing lethargy and indolence. At length she got under way and made a cruise, which was her second and last, during the whole two years that she was upon the station, and that was in laying off and on Cape de Gatt, until we got short of water, and had to run into Carthagena for a supply.

When we cannot employ our ships of war in a more proper manner than the *Delaware* was, during her first cruise, we had better let them rot, at our navy yards, than be used to draw money from the public, to be squandered amongst pimps and prostitutes, in Port Mahon, and thereby corrupting both men

and officers. What experience could midshipmen get, on board of that ship, to qualify them to perform the duties of lieutenants? Smart, indeed, must they have been, if they could learn their duty, with the chances afforded them in that ship. A midshipman is required to see three years' sea service, to entitle him to an examination; but they could have seen as much sea service in a receiving ship, along side of a navy yard, as they did in the Delaware. The consequence of her laying so long in port, was, that nearly every officer got deeply in debt, and had to get remittances from home,—and those who could not, had to join other vessels and live upon their rations, until their debts were paid; and several were tried by a court martial, for fraud, when Commodore Biddle took command of the squadron. Nothing else could be expected, where young men were allowed to go on shore every third day, in a port where beauty only makes a victim more conspicuous, sets a higher price upon prostitution, and where virtue is pandered for money, to the highest bidder. I have said *virtue*. There is not such a word in their whole vocabulary: the seeds of it are seldom or never sown; and if so, it is crushed in the bud, or before it can ripen into maturity. This being the case, it could not be expected that young officers would escape contamination, either of body or mind. During the whole of this time the crew never had liberty to go on shore; while those of other ships, that did not lay in port more than a month at a time, had liberty given them frequently. Some of the officers of the Delaware did not hesitate to blame Capt. Downes, for extending that indulgence to his crew so often; as they would come along side of the Delaware in shore boats, when on liberty, which tended to make her crew, who were deprived of such indulgence, more and more discontented. But they ought to have looked at the other side of the question, and let their disapprobation fall on their own commodore, for denying his men what it was in his power to have granted, without injury to the public service. Liberty could not have been denied to that crew on the grounds of the public requiring their services on board, or for fear of their abusing it; for it is well known, that the longer seamen are cooped up within the narrow precincts of a vessel of war,

the more likely they are to run into excesses, and abuse liberty, when they get on shore. There was a combination of other circumstances which tended to foster discontent on board of the *Delaware*. For instance, one side of the head was reserved for the marines and petty officers. Consequently, seven hundred men had to use the other side, where the pump was, and where all the cooks had to empty their dishwater and clean their provision. Such petty and unnecessary annoyances were very likely to make men discontented, who knew them to be uncalled for and tyrannical. No person was allowed to remain on the orlop deck, and none on the lower gun deck, except the cooks; the larboard side of the main deck was the parade of the officers, and the starboard side was occupied with the commodore's tailors, shoemakers, and cabinetmakers; forward of these, the carpenters' and armorers' benches were erected. The starboard side of the spar deck was, of course, kept clear. The marines, in uniform, occupied the larboard side of the quarter deck—and the forecastle men, the larboard side of the forecastle; so that the space between the fore and mainmasts was all that was left for the body of the crew, say five hundred men, and there they were huddled together like a parcel of sheep, from morning until night, without room to move. All the iron stanchions between decks were burnished as bright as silver, so that every common seaman in the ship had to spend two or three hours, every day, in polishing iron stanchions, ring bolts, &c. These were only a few of the abuses in this ship. Flogging men with pickled cats, has been mentioned elsewhere. An anonymous letter was written to the commodore, setting forth the evils and abuses in existence on board the ship. This letter he received, and gave it to the first lieutenant, with a request to find out the author of it; but the abuses were not redressed. Some of those abuses may be charged to the first lieutenant, but not all of them, by any means;—and when the commodore received that letter, and failed to correct the abuses complained of, or, in taking any steps to find out whether they were real or imaginary, the blame afterwards rested wholly with him; and depriving the men of liberty was an act of his own, entirely—as the first lieu-

tenant, of himself, had not power to grant them that indulgence. I sailed with the first lieutenant, afterwards, when he became a commander, and his treatment to his men then, gave the lie direct to any who may have accused him of being the author of the mean, tyrannical acts, on board of the Delaware. When he commanded the sloop of war Concord, the crew were well treated, and he paid much attention to their wants and comfort: rarely, indeed, did he ever go to the extent of the law in punishing an offender; and punishments, of any kind, on board of that ship were few and far between. He was my friend, from boyhood. I honored and esteemed him. With him I served as boy, man, and officer; but that would not induce me to utter a sentiment which is not in unison with the truth, for he now moulders in his parent earth. To him, blame and praise are alike—he heeds them not; but this heart, while it has a perception remaining, will cherish his memory with sentiments of respect and filial gratitude. The green sod now decks his grave, but it will be watered by the tears of many a tar who knew and loved him.

There are some officers in our navy who wish to command rather from love than from fear, and who wish their men to look upon them as their common father. But there are others who would be considered as chiefs, before whom all must tremble, and be obeyed from fear of the boatswain's mate's arm, and the lash of the cat. Of the latter number was our commodore. When one officer relinquishes the command of a ship of war to another, it is customary before so doing, either to punish or forgive persons who are charged with offences. But when captain Downes gave up the command of the Delaware this had not been done, probably at the instigation of the Commodore who wished to let his crew know what they might expect, by giving them a fore-taste of his iron rule. The side was piped, the drum rolled, and the Commodore *rolled* or hobbled over the gangway, as his flag fluttered at the mast-head. He bowed to the officers, and directed the first lieut. to bring up the prisoners, which was done, and he came to the gangway with the report in his hand. "David Burns, boatswain's mate, I break you," said the commodore; "strip; seize

him up, and boatswain's mate, do your duty." The man done so, and received two dozen lashes, and in the same manner he served the whole. One of them said, while undergoing the torture, "Oh, commodore, do forgive me; I will never get drunk again." "*If I forgive you,*" said the commodore, "*I hope God will never forgive me.*" These were his words. All the prisoners were punished with two dozen each, without any parley, or investigation as to the truth of the offences with which they were charged. Many of them were petty officers, and the crimes were generally drunkenness. Now it remains for the commodore to say in what part of the rules and regulations, made by Congress for the better government of the navy, he derived his authority to break petty officers that he had not rated, and punish them with two dozen lashes. He violated the laws as much by going beyond them to punish, (and thereby become as great a criminal,) as the men he punished.

I will not attempt to analyze the motives by which the commodore was actuated in depriving the men of liberty for so long a period, but confine myself to stating the results, which were of a very alarming nature. On our arrival in Carthagena the crew were very discontented, and as the utmost expedition was used in watering the ship, they were harrassed a great deal. When the last cask of water was ready to be hoisted out of the launch, the crew run it up to the yard until the tackle was block and block, and kept it suspended there for some time, then let it go by the run upon deck. This was the first open act of disaffection that they evinced. The officers went among them to find out the ringleaders, but their inquiries were answered by sullen looks. For this they were kept without their hammocks until ten o'clock at night, which, instead of allaying, increased their discontent. A short time after our arrival in Mahon, they respectfully asked leave to go on shore, to which they received no definite answer; at the same time the Java's men were on liberty and sailing round the harbor, which tended to foster the spirit of discontent that was ready to burst into open mutiny. When the hands were turned to, one day, shortly after our arrival, the master's mate and boatswain, as usual, went on the berth deck to drive the men up; but four or five

hundred of them refused to go, and triced up all the ladders fore and aft, except the after one, to prevent any one doing so, and swore vengeance against all who dared to let them down. Word was carried to the first lieutenant that the crew were in a state of mutiny. I was by his side when the report was made. His countenance underwent a slight change, but his compressed lips told that his resolution was taken. He went down the after ladder and ordered the men on deck, who had by this time collected in a body between the guns and abaft the sick bay; one of them said, "Mr. M——, we want liberty; we have been on the station nearly two years and never had any, while the crews of all other vessels have. Why can't we have the same? what have we done?" The first lieutenant replied in his usual tone, "This is a pretty way to get liberty you rascals; you ought to be ashamed to disgrace yourselves in this way; the commodore will give you liberty in proper time; let down the ladders and go on deck; don't let me see any more of such nonsense as this." They did as he ordered them; but had it not been for the coolness that he displayed, and the light manner in which he treated their contempt for the authority of the boatswain and master's mate, a scene would have taken place that afternoon that would have disgraced our navy and caused the shedding of innocent blood. If the first lieutenant had called the marines to drive them up by force, as many officers would have done, that would have been the signal for a general revolt. The muskets would have been taken from the marines before they could have fixed their bayonets, and would have been used against them.

If the commodore had become decrepid from excesses, and could not enjoy pleasure, either on board or on shore, that was not any reason why he should have deprived the seamen under him from doing so, or that he should have endeavored to make those around him as miserable as he was himself. If he envied them the good health and strength that they were enjoying, he ought to have reflected that the same would have been his lot if he had not indulged too far in luxuries which will debilitate and impair the strongest mind and constitution; "it is the curse of greatness." Seamen who earn their bread by hard

labor, are never troubled with the gout, their faculties, of both body and mind, remain unimpaired to the last. Not so with many officers; they become a burthen to themselves and an annoyance to those around them, even while they ought to be in the prime of life. Such men have many griefs, yet meet with no compassion. Look at those whose whole pleasure and enjoyment consists in the delicacy of the wine and the sumptuousness of the board. Their hours of jollity and riot are followed by tedious days of pain and dejection, they debauch and pall their appetites; from votaries they become victims, the just and natural consequences which God has ordained in the constitution of things for those who abuse his gifts. They become enfeebled, and pampered with luxury, softened by sloth, strength soon forsakes their limbs, and health their constitution. How different seamen are? they continue healthy and active until they are taken from the world.

I will pursue matters still further, and show what *little things* great men will sometimes be guilty of. I wish perfectly to be understood. There are no insinuations in this chapter, nor in any others of the book; all is intended that the words convey, and nothing more. I should shrink from making any assertions in this public manner that I did not know to be truth, and I too would scorn to bow the knee to any *great-little* man, because he was high in office; or keep any thing from the public which should be known to it. With this explanation I will proceed to relate some occurrences which took place on board of the Delaware while in Carthagea. On our arrival in that port the news spread rapidly that an American ship of the line had arrived. Thousands flocked to see her, as it is, or was seldom that any of our vessels of war touched there.

Many of the Spaniards were no doubt allured to visit her from the recollection that she came from the New World, discovered by those under their flag, and which discovery had so greatly tended to exalt them as a nation. Such recollections were calculated to call forth the latent spirit of the once proud Spaniard, to the days when their country's flag waved over a new continent, and which brought to their treasury the gold and gems that made them the most powerful nation in Europe.

For the first two days after our arrival, great numbers flocked to see the ship, and on the last of our stay there was a perfect fleet of boats around her from morning until sundown. The visitors were of the most respectable class, for no others could afford to pay for a conveyance, so great was the demand for boats. The governor and suite also visited her, with a great number of military officers, and received a salute; and again came on board attended by a number of ladies and gentlemen of the first rank. But none of these were received by the commodore, who confined himself to his cabin. The officers as a matter of course, wished to show the governor and party every part of the ship, and obtained permission to show them the cabin. But the commodore had no idea that they should see him, for after directing refreshments to be placed upon the table, he withdrew to one of the state-rooms, as a bear would into a hollow tree. The Spaniards were his equals in rank, and if so, what kept him from showing them the courtesy and attention which common decency demanded? During this time the first lieutenant had directed the officer of the deck to cease hoisting in the water, as the decks were so crowded with strangers, that the men in running fore and aft with the yard and stay tackles were running over them. The commodore soon ascertained the cause of the cessation, and as his orders were commonly written upon slips of paper, one to the following effect was handed to the first lieutenant by the orderly at the cabin door.

“Sir,—The work of the ship must not be stopped, if we are to be visited by the royal family.

To Lieut. M. P. M.”

The launch was again brought to the gangway and the operation of hoisting in the water commenced, regardless of the consequences. So great was the desire to see the ship, that nobility from the interior of the country, even came on board in the poorest fishing boats, sooner than be disappointed in the object of their visit to the city. Never have I seen so many boats around any one vessel. On returning from the shore in a boat, I could not get near the gangway, but stepped from one boat to another for upwards of a hundred yards, to get on board. On the afternoon of the third day, a great many ladies

were on board ; the band was turned up, and the officers and ladies were dancing on the main deck and in the ward-room ; but another note from the commodore ended that amusement.

“ Sir,—I believe our worthless band to be the cause of so many visitors.

To Lieut. M. P. M.”

On the receipt of this, the band was dismissed, but the officers tried by every means in their power to make up for the want of courtesy of their commodore, and succeeded ; for a finer set of fellows never went on board of a ship. Lieut. J. S. P. was a perfect master of the Spanish and French languages, and Lieut. E. B. commonly called Ned B——ns could speak no tongue but English, and yet he was so lively a dog that every one could understand him without an interpreter, for the governor's lady declined the assistance of Lieut J. S. P. in that capacity, declaring that she perfectly understood Mr. B——, and preferred his company without the presence of a third person. Lieuts. L. M. G. and J. S. C. were also on board, and were calculated to shine in any company. All was joy and pleasure, until another of the commodore's orders came along. The water had by this time been all got on board, and the order ran as follows :

“ Sir,—You will unship the side ladder, pass the messenger, and prepare the ship for sea.

To Lieut. M. P. M.”

The first lieut. said he would delay unshipping the side ladder for twenty minutes, to enable the officers to get the visitors out of the ship. During this time the master's mates, master at arms and ship corporals, were hurrying the more humble part over the side. But at the end of the appointed time, a number of ladies and gentlemen were in the ward-room, and delicacy forbade the officers telling them that their absence would be more agreeable than their company. The twenty minutes expired. The yard and stay tackles were hooked on to the gangway ladder, and it was swung in-board, leaving the Delaware's side apparently inaccessible, and frowning with the muzzles of heavy pieces of artillery. To obviate this difficulty a

chair was rigged, and the ladies got over the side in that manner. Some of the officers, however, may remember an occurrence that took place that evening. A very pretty Spanish girl, of fifteen, had been very gay and witty all the afternoon, and appeared to be much pleased; she got into the chair, the word was given, and she swung over the hammocks suspended from the main yard, at which she was so excited as to spring a le— (I almost said it.) Lieut. G. was in the boat, ready to take her out, and was sprinkled with something,—no matter what,—suffice it to say, it was not eau de cologne, at least so went the report; whether it was only a *yarn* of Mr. B.'s or not, your deponent saith not.

A splendid party was given at the governor's that evening, to which our officers were invited, and the next day we made sail for Cape de Gatt again. Why we could not have remained a few days longer in Carthagená, instead of returning to Mahon, must be answered by the commodore. In the former place there was the best society, and our young officers could have been both amused and instructed; but in the latter there was no society, and the very air was pregnant with prostitution and wickedness.

When the commodore wished to visit the once celebrated arsenal in Carthagená he went early in the morning, when the officers could not pay the respect to him that they could have wished, had they been aware of his visit. He appeared to shun receiving all marks of respect, as the acerbity of his nature would not allow him to return them. When he was on board of the *Fairfield*, in Smyrna, it was well known to all the English officers that he was on board, although he did not hoist his broad pendant. Commodore Staines, of the British frigate *Isis* visited the *Fairfield*, but our commodore hid himself in the quarter gallery, and left the captain to receive him and return his visit. This slight to Commodore Staines was, no doubt, felt by him, and wondered at. Commodore Staines was very nearly the equal of our commodore in rank, and in years, service, and brilliant actions, he was vastly his superior. When our government cannot find officers to command our squadrons on foreign stations, who are willing to give and receive those

visits which are so productive of benefit, and which tend to a cultivation of intimacy and friendship between our officers and those of other nations, it would be better to keep them at home, and save the expense of supporting them abroad. If such men have got into the service, keep them at home, in navy yards, where their high flown, aristocratic notions will be repaid by the contempt of their fellow citizens, who, of all others, know how best to treat men who are guilty of such little mean acts.

I joined the Warren for a few months, in 1829, under the command of Captain H——r; here the same rules were in existence as on board the Fairfield. Every officer of the deck was allowed to flog who, and when he pleased, and there was one (who was afterwards tried by a court martial, for similar acts and suspended for two years, which induced him to resign) who never had the deck but what he would flog some person; if he only relieved another officer to his meals he would pick a fault and flog some person before he went below. Several of the other officers carried a high hand, but they were not so destitute of humane feelings as he,

We lay in Sinyrna during the winter, when it was very cold, but the moment that the sound was out of the bell at four o'clock, A. M. the pipe was in the boatswain's mouth to pipe the hammocks up; then it would be either wash clothes, scrub hammocks, or holy stone decks, although it was not daylight until after six o'clock. Every man had to strip off his shoes and stockings and walk about in the cold water for three hours; and all this exposure might have been avoided. At the same time the crew of the Java were not turned out of their hammocks until seven o'clock.

The captain, when a man was reported to him, never punished with less than two dozen lashes; and that too for an offence of which none were oftener guilty than himself. He would flog a sailor for being drunk, when his own eyes were blood-shot, and he was suffering from the effects of the previous night's debauch. Happy am I to state that there was one officer on board, who by his kindness and humanity, redeemed, in part, the obloquy attached to the whole. His name was

J. J. Boyle, and a better fellow never drew the breath of life ; he felt as much pain in punishing a man, as his messmates did pleasure in doing the same thing. If he called one man to do any duty, twenty were ready to jump to do his bidding. There are many such officers growing up in the navy ; but, on the other hand, there are many who are of a very different disposition. On one occasion, a negro lost the dirt tub overboard, and the captain, who was walking the poop, ordered a boat to pick it up, and directed Mr. Boyle, who had the deck, to punish the man for losing it by accident. Mr. Boyle did so ; but he only made the boatswain's mate give him two lashes, and told him that the next time he would get as much again. Had some of his brother officers been in his stead, the poor negro would have got a dozen or more. There was a lieutenant on board, W. P. P., who took delight in whipping the cook's mate upon all occasions ; but he never could draw any demonstration of pain from the lips of the black. He flogged him over the back and the seat of honor, but with the same success. At length he made him stand upon the side ladder and directed the boatswain's mate to flog him over the shins ; this was the negro's tender part, and he shouted from pain. " Ha, you d——d nigger, I have found out your heart, have I ?" at the same time smiling in savage barbarity, and looking forward to the men for approval for his ingenuity, but in their looks he read nothing but hatred and scorn. After an act like this, let our northern people talk about slaves and slave-drivers. In this chapter I have not given names in full, but any officer who was in the navy eleven years ago, knows who are intended—and my object is to show that abuses exist and, where they have taken place, without wishing to lay the names of the authors before the public.

To account for my being in so many vessels in the Mediterranean, I must state that I went out in the *Fairfield*, joined the *Delaware* with Lieut. M. P. M., and when she sailed for the United States, I went on board the *Lexington*. Shortly afterwards Capt. H——r, of the *Lexington*, took command of the *Warren*, and took twelve men with him, of which I was one,

He again took the Lexington, and we returned with him, and came to Norfolk in her in November, 1830.

Relative to the notes or orders of the commodore, which are inserted here, I have to say that I was about the person of the first lieutenant, and saw these orders and many others that, I forbear inserting, in this edition at least, and I kept a journal during the whole ten years that I was in the navy, and by that means I am enabled to refer to facts which otherwise might have escaped the memory ; and this may account for my being so particular as to dates, &c. Without this explanation, the reader may think that I have colored from fiction instead of drawing from facts.

CHAPTER XIII.

Receiving ships—what they ought to be—Hudson—Columbus—Congress—The Java, and Lieut. S——r—his drunkenness, abuse, tyranny, and oppression—lines written to him—Lewis and Lieut. S——r & Co.—Scandal—Lieut. S——r—his character—his bad example to junior officers—slaves held on board the Java, contrary to law, and their masters receiving their pay.

It is generally believed that first impressions are the most lasting. If this is the case, great care ought to be taken in selecting the officers for our receiving ships ; for if any thing happens to give a man a distaste for the service, when he enters it, it will be found very difficult to eradicate that impression or distaste ; so that receiving ships, of all others, ought to be well regulated and conducted. I know of no better method to do this, than to have their commanders live on board of them, with their families. This was the case when I was on board of the receiving ship Hudson, at New York, and I believe that the same is the case on board the Columbus, at Charlestown navy yard. The lady of the captain, even of a sea-going vessel, if she went with him, would be productive of much good. She would be a bridle on the tongues of officers, as well as on their actions, if they were disposed to indulge in abuse or oppression ;

for no man would heedlessly forfeit the good opinion of a virtuous lady. Many officers are of opinion that they must dress better when there is a lady on board; but every person, unless a fop, must know that a sensible female's good opinion is not to be purchased by a showy appearance: women generally look for something more substantial than a handsome coat and gaudy dress. It has been said, rather unjustly, that women are troublesome on board of a vessel of war; but all the little trouble they would cause, would be amply repaid by the restraint that their presence would impose upon those who were in any way disposed to trifle with or abuse the authority with which the law had vested them. On board the *Hudson*, at New York, we had several hundred men on board at different times. Punishment was seldom inflicted, and never, when it could by any means be avoided. Citizens were allowed to come on board, and visit any of their friends or acquaintance that might be in the ship; and the same is the case at the yard in Charlestown. By this means the crews are made to experience as much happiness as their situation is capable of allowing.

In order that I may be understood by the landmen, I must state, that receiving ships are vessels which are kept near the navy yards, to receive men from the rendezvous, and keep them until they are required to go on board of some vessel for active service. What are termed ordinary men, also live on board of them. They are persons shipped for the navy, generally landmen; they do not go to sea, but are usually employed in the navy yard, or on board of vessels not in commission.

When I was on board the receiving ship *Congress*, at Norfolk, in 1831, the captain did not live on board, but the first lieutenant did, and had his wife with him, and there was little punishment on board of her. When I returned to that place again, in 1834, every thing had changed. The *Java* was receiving ship; the captain lived on shore, and the first lieutenant lived on board—yet he had no wife,—and I do not believe that any woman, well acquainted with him, would think the offer of his hand a compliment. He was a man totally unfitted for the station.

He was forbid, by the general orders, to punish any person, on his own authority; yet he often violated the orders, and was the most abusive, tyrannical officer, that I ever knew. He would not hesitate to couple God's name with curses and profane oaths, and in the same breath would blast the honor of a man's mother, on the most trivial occasions, when the captain was absent. In truth, he was so ignorant as to suppose that this was the only way to make himself obeyed and respected, and thought that such conduct was proof of a good officer. Vain man! had he only known the utter contempt felt for him, by the men whom he looked upon as inferiors, he would have sunk into the earth, with a sense of his own littleness. From him there was no appeal. He had the ear of the captain, which he poisoned with falsehoods against the men,—and no man dared to write to the commodore, who was perhaps ignorant of his conduct,—and the secretary of the navy could not be addressed but through the commodore; so from the barriers that were placed between men and redress, he reigned secure. In order to show the opinion formed of him by the crew, some man, who had a smattering of education, wrote the following lines on him, which he found out, and ascribed to me; and, like many better men, I had to lay under the weight of another's bad writings, which made me no favorite with him; and anxiously did he look, in vain however, for an opportunity to bring me to the gangway.

Lines to A. G. S——r., First Lieut. of the Frigate Java.

On ocean's brine, to place a swine,
 Dame Nature once bethought her;
 But then, again, she changed her plan,
 And from the swine she made a man,
 And called him A. G. S——r.

This nondescript the sailors whip'd,
 Because it was his notion;
 But ne'er could learn to take his turn
 At watch, upon the ocean.

The boatswain's mates he roundly rates,
 And calls them sons of b——es,
 If their crack should fail to break
 The purser's good sound stitches,

For nine long years his name appears,
 As a reefer* in our navy,
 Till by a chance, he met advance, †
 And now struts on board the Java.

The galley cooks, his sour looks
 Must patiently endure,
 Save he who makes his good pound cakes—
 Old Lewis, to be sure.

The rhyme was much longer, but I presume this is enough for the reader's amusement. That he was ignorant of his duty as a seaman, was well known to every person; and the old Lewis alluded to was his cook, who was allowed to bring things on board to sell to the men, for the pound cakes and other good things that he made for Lieut. S——r. Many did not hesitate to say that he and the *darkey* were in company, in the bum boat line, as it was a monopoly business; for none were allowed to carry it on but Lewis. But this, of course, was only slander, in consequence of the hatred felt by our citizens for a monopoly, of any kind. The pound cakes were, no doubt, all that Lieut. S——r received for the charter to Lewis. But Lewis and his friend at last quarrelled, as partners will sometimes do. Lewis's trade was stopped, and he brought in a bill against his silent partner, for the pound cakes consumed by him; and how far the affair would have went it would be hard to say. Lieut. S——r threatened to use the colt, and Lewis escaped by volunteering as Commodore Dallas's cook, and thereby the bill for the cakes was lost. Lieut. S——r would sometimes come forward when under the influence of liquor, which was about every evening, and try to make the men sing to him—as Saul made David do, when he was possessed of the *evil spirit*; but few were willing to humor him, except one who had stolen his shipmate's blankets, and was forgiven by Mr. S——r, and he thought it would show his gratitude by singing for his amuse-

* A midshipman.

† Lieut. S——r was not examined, and passed, as is the custom at present. He received an acting appointment as lieutenant, and it was confirmed by the department, before the law went into force respecting the examination of midshipmen.

ment,—and as the man was compelled to give back the stolen blankets, Mr. S——r gave him two, of his own. On other occasions, when the men were singing for their own amusement, he would knock them off and drive them to their hammocks. One evening, a little after sunset, when I was in the netting, throwing out the men's hammocks, (I was then rated gunner's mate,) Lieut. S——r was brought on board, by two persons, in a beastly state of intoxication—so drunk that he could not walk. He was carried below, and the same evening he sent his servant on shore to bring on board a mulatto girl, well known to every seaman and marine as a common low prostitute. This happened about eight o'clock, and the sentinel detained her in the gangway until the corporal of the guard passed her in by orders from Lieut. S——r. I will not follow the pair to the cabin, nor repeat the reports current next day among the servants and quarter masters, as it would not be believed of a commissioned officer, nor, of any man who has the standing in society that our officers of the navy have; moreover, it would shock delicate ears. He was cowardly and ignorant. He insulted a gentleman, who challenged him; yet he refused to meet him, as he was not his equal in rank, but preferred charges against him, and had him broke by a court martial. The President of the United States, however, reinstated him. Of drunkenness, in the worst sense of the word, I do accuse Lieut. S——r, fairly and openly, and am ready to prove it against him. He returned from the Straits, in the United States ship of the line Delaware, in 1829, and did not go to sea again until some time in 1837. He always had some excuse to beg off with, when ordered to sea. To sum up the man's character in a few words, he was the terror of subordinates, and the sycophant of superiors—by turns the mastiff and the spaniel. It needs no inspiration to predict, that he will through life be detested, unlamented in death, and in the grave forgotten.

While I was on board the Java some persons were always at work for him, rigging little ships, making mats, or some other such things, to present to his acquaintances. The last time I was on board three men were employed for upwards

of a month on one small model of a vessel of war for him, while others were employed in the navy yard. The aged or infirm were compelled to labor in the yard daily, unless upon the sick list, while he could employ several men at his own private work. His conduct and treatment of the crew of the *Vandalia* and others have created a hatred against him, among seamen, that no after conduct can atone for. The authority that he gave men so destitute of principle as his aids, Webster and Goodhues, cannot be looked over; they were allowed to carry rattans with bullets on the ends of them, and knock down and confine in irons whoever they pleased. Had hell been raked with a fine tooth comb, two such villains would not have been found. They are so contemptible, so much below everything deserving of notice, that I will not prostitute my pen by describing them. Many young officers were on board that vessel, attached to the naval school, for whom S——r was a pretty model; had a parent known his son in such a den he would have torn him from it as from the flames. You never dreamed, vain drunkard, that when you were uttering menaces at which the poor creatures under you trembled, that there was one there who would hold you up in your true colors to the public, whose laws you have violated, and whose unworthy servant you are. Deny not a word I have said, or I will brand you with more, and produce proofs, if you raise your voice to gainsay me. It may have been possible that the commodore of the yard was ignorant of these things, but he is not ignorant of the law which declares that no slave or person liable to be sold as a slave, shall be borne on the books of any vessel of the U. S. navy, and he knows that there were slaves on board the *Java*, that their masters received their pay, and that slaves are employed in the navy yard as laborers, to the exclusion of white people and free persons of color. From what has been stated it will appear that the defect is not so much in the laws as in the abuse of them.

CHAPTER XIV.

Flogging seamen in the navy and merchant service—injury therefrom in the latter—difference between English and American laws respecting seamen—want of redress for common sailors who have been maltreated and abused—whalers—their want of seamen—their advertisements—young men's prospects who ship in them—number of seamen confined in Boston jail previous to the 15th of May, 1839, and for what cause—crew of the *Shylock*—their wrongs, trial, acquittal, and recovery of their wages.

Our citizens have repeatedly expressed their disapprobation of corporeal punishment in the navy, in explicit terms, and several plans have been proposed to discontinue it, by substituting some other in its stead less degrading, and more in accordance with the principles of a free government. For this kind of punishment in the navy we have a precedent from all the maritime powers of Europe; yet that does not cause our citizens to view it with less horror and disgust; but for punishment by the lash in the merchant service, we have no precedent whatever. To our everlasting disgrace be it told, that we are the first nation in the world that have authorized the masters of merchant ships to enforce obedience, or correct seamen by whipping them with a rope's end, and we should blush to confess that it either should be given or used. Never let American citizens in the northern states rail at slavery, or the punishment inflicted on slaves, or say that it is wrong, so long as their own sons, their own flesh and blood, their own seamen, their own free citizens, and the men to whom they look for protection in case of war, are daily subject to the same treatment as the slaves, whose degraded situation in the southern states calls forth, so justly, the warmest sensibilities of the heart and nature of philanthropists. The late John Randolph openly declared, in the legislative halls of Congress, that he had witnessed more flogging on board the vessel of war that carried him to Russia, in a few months, than had taken place during ten years on his plantation, where there were five hundred

slaves. This was asserted in the presence of our most enlightened statesmen, without any motion being made to inquire into, or correct the abuse. Oh, Americans, to what are you coming! the blood of your ancestors is turned to water in your veins. Those who exclaim loudest against slavery, had better turn their attention to objects of suffering and benevolence at home, before they look for them abroad, hundreds of whom will be found to stand as much in need of their assistance, and emancipation from the yoke of tyranny and oppression, as the swarthy sons and daughters of Africa. At present, masters of merchant vessels are vested with greater authority than the magistrates or judges, and with the same power as the negro-driver, or slaveholder, who has so often been stigmatized with the epithets of tyrants and brutes, by a society whose object is declared to be equal rights and privileges to all, and yet these men pass by the seaman, whom they daily see in the streets, and who is liable to, and often receives worse treatment than the slave, in whose behalf so many petitions have been presented, and such efforts been made as have nearly turned one half of the union against the other; if such men want objects of compassion, and their object is the welfare of mankind, let them turn to the common seaman. As long as this suffering class are permitted to remain as they now are, the efforts of anti-slavery societies can pass for nothing more than a wish on their part to join in the cry raised by individuals in Great Britain, who knew as little of slavery as their brethren on this side of the Atlantic. "Those who live in glass houses should be careful how they throw stones." Those who rail at negro slavery should take care that none of their own servants are receiving the treatment of slaves.

A judge, with whose abilities and qualifications the public are well acquainted, and who has risen to that station by merit and integrity, has not the power delegated to him that the master of a merchant vessel has; the former are men of probity and honor, the latter, in many cases, are destitute of either, and very often ignorant and dissipated, raised from the very dregs of society, often, by some chance rather than merit; a master of a vessel to-day, and by the word from an owner,

reduced to a common seaman to-morrow ; often governed by neither humane nor moral principles, and slaves to their own passions ; yet they have greater power than any man in the United States. No judge can order a lash to be inflicted on a citizen or alien, yet the master of a merchant vessel can be the accuser, the judge, and the executor of his own sentence ; seize to the rigging and flog any seaman who may have, even through ignorance, violated any of his orders ; that person may have received honorable scars in defence of your country and rights, and yet he may be flogged like a dog. This is not a law that sleeps in the statute book, it is daily put in force, under a flag which is declared to be the emblem of liberty, It has cost merchants and ship owners millions of dollars, and citizens their lives. And it fosters mutiny, revolt, and shipwreck. Thousands of our citizens are not aware of this execrable law, as the victims of it cannot make known their sufferings ; they hear of mutinies and revolts, but can form no just opinion as to the cause. Punishments in pursuance of this law, do not take place in our harbors, but they are perpetrated on the bosom of the wave, or in foreign ports, and reach not the American public ; those who suffer from it are driven on shore, in nine cases out of ten, and if ever they reach the United States it may be too late to seek redress ; no matter how severe or unjust their sufferings may have been, the perpetrator is gone to commit anew fresh outrages, or witnesses to prove that the punishment was unjust, are wanting, and the poor seaman must suffer his wrongs in silence. Where is the parent that will suffer his son to go to sea if he is aware of the existence of such a law ? He would sooner see him dead at his feet than liable to such treatment. Not one in fifty of our seamen are aware of the existence of a law which authorizes a master of a vessel to flog them ; and hence arises the mutinies and revolts of which we daily read. Seamen know that they are born free, and freemen will never submit to the lash of slavery. Why is not this law expressly stated in a ship's printed articles or shipping paper ? It dare not be done, no American worthy of the name, would ever affix his name to an agreement that would vest another with power to flog him, and that too by

men of no character or standing, and governed by no principle, but their own caprice.

It is admitted, to their everlasting disgrace, that in England and America, seamen are treated with greater brutality than in any other country; but in this respect we have far outstripped the former country. The government of Great Britain is aristocratic and ours is democratic, but the former has never vested the masters of their merchant ships with power to flog their seamen. The celebrated East India company's ships, which vied with the British navy, and whose officers wore uniforms and were descended from the first families in the kingdom, were never vested with the power of inflicting punishment by the lash on the seamen in their employ; they applied for that authority in vain; there was spirit and freedom enough in the British senate to treat the application with scorn and contempt, yet America, which declares freedom to be inseparable from her soil, has granted what an aristocratic government withheld. The East India company's officers did flog their men, but were invariably sued, and heavy damages recovered. I was in London in 1824, when a seaman received two hundred and forty pounds sterling as damages for having received twenty-four lashes on board of one of their ships. The officers well knew that if sued in a court of justice heavy damages would be recovered, and in order to meet this, had a fund to which every one subscribed a certain sum, and from this fund the damages were paid. In London the doctors commons are ever ready to take up such prosecutions, but in our country, when a seaman comes home, unless he has money, he cannot get a suit entered against the wretch who has abused him and trampled on his rights, even if he should have the witnesses to prove that the punishment he received was severer than the offence required; and of this fact masters of merchant vessels are well aware. In the English merchant service such a thing as flogging is unknown, a master of a vessel dare not attempt it. There was a villain who had command of a merchant vessel out of Greenock, who committed some offence of the kind, some years ago; the crew rose and deprived him of the command, confined him in the main top, night and day, until

the vessel arrived home, and when the case was tried, he was, in addition to a heavy fine, declared to be incapable of command, and ordered by Lloyd's agents never to seek employment as master of a vessel again. He goes by the cognomen of *streakum strokum*. I have seen him, and so have most seamen who have been in Greenock or port Glasgow, for he is pointed out by all who know him ; but in the United States a man who has cut the skin from the back of a seaman, will strut about without considering that he has been guilty of any crime. In the navy, the case is different, although a wrong ; for where there are so many men, of so many different dispositions confined together as there is on board of a vessel of war, punishment becomes indispensibly necessary in order to ensure obedience and respect. On the organization of the navy this was duly considered, and power was delegated to commanders to inflict corporeal punishment to a certain extent ; but this extent has been exceeded, as has been shown, and the law which limits punishment has been but too often violated by those entrusted with their administration. There is a precedent for flogging in the navy, but in the merchant service there is none, nor does the law specify to what extent a man may be punished in the latter, further than vesting the master with power to correct according to the offence. In the navy the officers are men of education, and gentlemen, (with very few exceptions,) they rise gradually, and serve many years before they get command, or are vested by law with authority to flog a seaman ; and when this is done it is generally after due investigation in the presence of the whole crew and officers, and when this is not the case, a violation of the law is committed. Moreover the captains in our navy, who alone are vested with this authority, are public officers, and men of character and standing, and who have a commission at stake, independent of the value which they must ever place on public opinion ; they are always to be found, and redress may be obtained for any undue stretch of authority of which they may be guilty, by application to the proper authority ; or an appeal can be made to the people through the medium of the public press, that great palladium of a free people. In a merchant vessel

it is entirely different, the masters of them often find character unnecessary to carry to sea, but leave it on shore, to answer their turn in the presence of their owners, and proper redress for an injury from them is not to be expected. Where would the use be in publishing a *Captain Smith, or Brown?* there are too many such names afloat to attract any notice; but not so with a Commodore Hull, or Downes, although I know that the name of these gallant officers will never be used in such a case; but were such a thing to take place, the public would know, from one end of the union to the other, who were alluded to; not so with the petty master of a merchant vessel. Were masters of merchant vessels amenable and liable, like captains in the navy, the evil of entrusting them with such authority would not be so great, nor so likely to be abused; but in both cases it is unnecessary, and sometimes abused in both, although seldom in the latter. The masters of merchant vessels have not that education or refinement which are so necessary to the character of a gentleman or one who commands; but I do not intend this impeachment to apply to all masters of merchant vessels. There are very few crying evils of a public nature without some honorable exceptions to redeem in part the obloquy attached to many of them, and I have much pleasure in stating, from personal knowledge and other sources entitled to the most implicit confidence, that there are many masters of vessels what they ought to be, and in vessels under their command, difficulties with seamen never occur; were this the case in all, there would be no necessity for advertisements such as the following, from the New York Sun of June 14th, 1839:

“Wanted immediately, one hundred enterprising young men, Americans, to go on whaling voyages, in first rate ships. Carpenters, coopers, and blacksmiths also wanted, to whom extra pay will be given. The present is a very desirable opportunity for those that wish to take a voyage to sea to learn navigation or nautical improvement. All clothing and other necessary articles furnished on credit. Apply to S. & J. N. Luckey, 106 South street, up stairs.”

“Wanted, thirty men for the three ships at New Bedford,

twenty-five men for two ships at Fairhaven, twelve men for a ship at New London, ten men for a ship at Sag Harbor. By applying immediately at Thomas Lewis's clothing store, No. 15 James Slip, they can have their choice of ships and places. All clothing furnished on credit." This is like the secretary of the navy sending to ship men for the navy in the back woods and declaring to Congress that the "*navy was popular with seamen.*" It is well known that whale ships are very carefully shunned by all seamen who have ever sailed in them before, not so much on account of the swindling system usually practised in them, as the bad treatment that they receive from their commanders, who are beyond the reach of the law for two or three years, and who by a system of tyranny and oppression very often drive the men to some indiscreet act, for which they on their return to the United States, incarcerate them in a prison, on some false oath or spurious statement, and pay them for their hardships and privations, by imprisoning them in a county jail. When these things are known, it is not to be wondered that they are forced to send to ports where seamen are ignorant of these atrocities, in order to procure crews to man them. If I know any trade that is likely to ruin a young man, and render him worthless as a seaman for ever after, it is a whaling voyage; there they learn nothing but to kill and take care of whales, and try blubber. Their superiors who ought to instruct them in their profession are as ignorant as themselves. They have no idea that there is any other science in the world, save that of taking care of a whale, and believe that the summit of human greatness, and that no business carried on is so likely to *enlighten* the world as whaling and breaking black skin. So that the enterprising young men advertised for, have only to grease themselves up to the neck in sperm oil, and thereby slip into a sailor's shoes. But the chances are, that ere they return, the masters, or captains, as they are termed by courtesy, may break their skin as well as grease it. However that is immaterial, and a young man, unless he intends to pass his days in a state of single blessedness, must dart a harpoon into something of the whale kind, and bedaub himself with *head matter*, ere Cupid's dart will have any effect on

the girls about a whaling port. So my young men, go an *illeg* for one voyage, and my word on it you will be sufficiently amused. It has been ascertained that young seamen about Boston can no longer be deceived by the hundreth and seventieth lay for a whaling voyage; and necessity compels them to send to New York and pay the expense of transporting them to New Bedford, Fairhaven, &c. Were seamen properly treated out of those ports, the risk and danger of a whaling voyage would not be taken into consideration by them; but so long as they see numbers incarcerated in the county jail after their return from a long voyage, instead of being paid their wages, it is not to be expected they will run headlong on to the weapon that has destroyed others. Before I proceed to detail other circumstances, I would remark, and advise the public to judge for itself, whether or not it does not appear singular that the revolts of which seamen are accused (and for which many of them have lately been imprisoned in the county jail in Boston) always happen on the homeward-bound passage, after the vessels leave the Pacific, or the whaling grounds, for the U. States. This circumstance alone would induce us to suspect that the difficulties which occur, are brought on by the conduct of the master, who by trumping up a charge of revolt, is enabled to keep from the poor fellows the share of the oil which they have ventured life and limb to obtain. Seamen who have suffered for a long voyage would not wantonly commit any act which would exclude them from its benefit. The fate of the officers of the *Globe*, is beginning to be an old tale, and it is to be hoped for the credit of the country, that it will be long ere such another tragedy is acted. Previous to the 15th of May, there was no less than eighteen seamen in the Suffolk county jail, either as principals or witnesses against those who were guilty of a violation of the laws, by abusing the authority vested in them. And on their trials enough was elicited to prove to the public beyond a doubt, that some measures ought to be taken to correct an evil of such an alarming nature. The sum that these prosecutions cost the government in this state alone, within the last six months, did not fall short of, but perhaps exceeded, two-thousand dollars. I have seen a journal written on

- board of the *Shylock*; seven of her crew were confined from the 14th of Dec. 1838, to the 20th of May, 1839, and I feel perfectly satisfied that there was the greatest injustice done those men by the master, Tabor; and the mate, Stott; if the allegations against the latter were founded on fact, he ought to be hooted from society. Many men were ready to assert upon oath that he had attempted the commission of a crime, so unnatural that decency shudders at the thought of it. These men were accused of attempting a revolt, but as the vessel had only a register and no license, the court had no power to take cognisance of the affair. But it appeared that the master, Tabor, after continuing a system of tyranny during the voyage, on the passage home was going to put one of the crew in irons, and on this part of the performance the crew remonstrated, and begged to be heard on a complaint that they had against the mate, but no hearing would be granted them; and they refused to do duty. I am far from attempting to prove that by so doing they were right, on the contrary, they were wrong; for the master confining one man did not justify them in refusing to do their duty; but they erred from ignorance and not from any predisposition to revolt against any lawful authority. They were not justifiable in making themselves a party to the quarrels of another, but seamen often err in this manner. The moment they refused to do duty they were driven below and secured there, the master openly avowing that he was glad of it, as by that means he would save his provisions; and until their arrival in the United States they were fed upon a scanty allowance of bread and water. When the vessel arrived they were delivered over to the marshal, charged with revolt. Now refusing to do duty is not a revolt, but is an offence punishable by loss of wages and confiscation of clothing. I do not mean to discuss a point of law, but am governed by the decision given by a judge in New York, some years ago, to that effect. When these men were set at liberty, they immediately sued for their wages, and Tabor having perceived that there were some individuals interested in their behalf, who would assist them to claim justice, a lawyer was sent on to pay them their wages. Now Tabor well knew that if he had just grounds of

complaint against these men, that they had forfeited their wages, but he saw that, backed as they were by two gentlemen of the bar, some facts would be brought to light which would have placed him in a very unenviable light; so he paid the wages and expenses, and they pocketed the six month's confinement, which was no hardship, after having served with him and lived two months on bread and water.

CHAPTER XV.

Crew of the *Halcyon* as witnesses against the mate—his conviction and paltry punishment—crew of the *Octavia* liberated without trial—crew of the *Orientis* imprisoned in Pernambuco—their treatment—two of them sent on board the *Effort*—one of them maltreated, carried on shore and left—the treatment of the other—Captain Nichols and Wm. Couch found guilty of cruelty resulting in death—Judge Story's sentence—article from the *Boston Morning Post*.

THREE of the crew of the *Halcyon* were confined as witnesses against the mate, (who was a foreigner,) from the 23rd of November, 1838, to the 20th of May, 1839, at an expense to the government of one dollar and twenty-five cents per day, exclusive of board. The mate, when in Trieste, had a quarrel with one of the crew, and struck him with his fist; finding himself likely to succeed but very little to his satisfaction by that means, he applied to the master to flog the man, which, however, the master refused to do. This did not appease the mate's vindictive feelings, and in order to obtain revenge he sent the man down below, into the half deck, to look for a spun-yarn winch, and while there, beat him with a billet of wood until his cries brought the crew to his assistance. The blows that were inflicted fractured the man's arm, broke the sheath knife by his side, and otherwise injured him so much that he fainted when carried on deck. Thus by the brutality of a person who in all probability is serving under a false protection, and who never was, by right, entitled to an officer's situation, on board of an American vessel, the government was put to,

an expense of several hundred dollars, to prosecute a foreigner. And after being convicted, his punishment was so trifling as to exceed belief; he was, if I am correctly informed, fined one hundred dollars and sentenced to ninety days imprisonment. The four men of the Octavia were liberated, as there was no statute to convict them on, as the ship was not licensed. One man of the Orientis, for mutiny or revolt, was sent home in the barque Effort from Pernambuco; his journal of the cause of the disturbance I also saw, and after making every allowance for the feelings under which it was written, I have rarely read an account of greater tyranny and oppression. Before the arrival of the vessel in Pernambuco, the mate had maltreated some of the crew, the master took his part, and stabbed two of them with a sword; this, however, was passed over. After the arrival of the vessel the master fell into the hold of another vessel, while drunk, and was left on board that vessel, until his own ship was nearly ready for sea. Some of the crew were allowed to go on liberty, and when they returned the mate beat one or two of them, for some alleged cause or other, and the rest refused to go to sea in the vessel unless some guarantee was given them that they should not be subject to similar treatment. The vessel was ready for sea, but they would not weigh the anchor. Some other masters of vessels came on board and used threats, but in vain; they were resolved, and soldiers were sent for and the whole of them lodged in jail, where they remained. The vessel went to sea, which carried their whole stock of clothing with her, except what they had on. During the whole of this time the consul, whose duty it was to have investigated the affair, never visited them, but kept them confined in a loathsome prison, without wholesome food or fresh air, until they became covered with rags and vermin. The merchant vessels which had supplied their vessel with a crew now wanted hands, and all of them except two entered on board of them, in order to escape actual starvation and the gloom of a prison. These two were confined for a long time, until they became emaciated and worn out from sickness and suffering. At length the consul's clerk informed them that they were to be sent home in the Effort,

and as they were destitute of clothing, a shirt and pair of trousers were given to each, and they were carried on board the *Effort* to make a passage to the United States, sick and without clothing, in the winter season. When they were delivered to the master of the *Effort*, he maltreated them in a shocking manner, by beating and kicking those, over whom he had no control except as prisoners. One of them fainted from the effects of his brutality, and was carried on shore again, to die in prison and find a grave in a foreign land, among strangers, far from his country and friends, and far from those whose care and attention would have softened the pangs of death. The one that was brought home, was suffered to go at liberty, on his arrival in Boston; but in a few days the master of the *Effort* induced his landlord to bring him in a carriage to his lodgings, where he was tied with cords and kept until he was delivered up to the civil authorities. When he was laying thus bound, the master of the *Effort* used threats and menaces to prevent his making any unfavorable representation respecting him when examined at the police court, as he said "it would do no good, and get him (the master) into a scrape." The man, however did make a complaint, and the master was suffered to go on bail in the sum of one hundred dollars. The sailor, after all his sufferings, was locked up in jail; but an American prison was a paradise in comparison with the one he had left. What his sentence was, or the result of his trial, I have not heard. I presume the advocates of tyranny will look in vain for the law by which the master of the *Effort* acted, when he beat and maltreated a prisoner committed to his charge by the consul; and the master of the *Effort* daring to tie a seaman and throw him upon the floor of his room in the city of Boston, after having suffered that man to go at liberty on his arrival, may serve to give the public some idea of what such a man would do entrusted with authority, when beyond the reach of the civil law.

The manner in which the consul acted towards this crew is in unison with the treatment that seamen receive at the hands of consuls generally. Had he reasoned with these men, and investigated the cause of their grievances, he could no doubt

have induced them to proceed on their voyage. But as the master of their vessel said, "the consul loved his bottle better than his business," and he was in consequence allowed to leave the men in jail, without their clothing and wages, with no proof of insubordination or revolt against them but his own statement. How long consuls are to be the puppets that they are in the hands of masters of vessels, Congress must determine; at present their whole dependence for a salary rests with masters of merchant vessels, and they of course will do nothing to disoblige their employers. The poor seamen do not contribute to support consuls, and why should they take any interest in their welfare?

Last, not least, comes the crew of the ship Caravan against the master, Nichols, and the mate, for cruelty resulting in death. The ship Caravan, while in Liverpool, shipped several men; among them the deceased, Henry Burr, who had shipped as cook, and after the ship had got to sea it was found that he could not perform his duty as cook, and another was put in his place in the galley, and he was turned forward. Not being a seaman, he was employed in cleaning after the pigs, and other menial duties, and repeatedly beaten by the master and mate with their fists and a rope's end. Finding that these instruments did not inflict a sufficient degree of pain, they invented a torture worthy of the inquisition, which was by affixing a sail needle in a bamboo cane and pricking him with it in the legs and body until he became a mass of punctures and swellings. The day previous to his death he was beat with a rope's end by the mate, who knocked him down and jumped upon him with his feet. The man was covered with blood, and nearly choaked with it, and his mouth was cleaned and washed by one of the seamen. Subsequent to this the master, Nichols, ordered him to be brought on deck—he was carried to the quarter deck and seated on a spar—the master gave him some medicine, and he was kept on deck the whole day, although the weather was cold and rainy. In the evening, having fallen into a state of insensibility upon deck, he was lowered into the fore-castle, placed in a wet berth, and the next morning he was dead. On the trial no mitigating circumstances

were brought forward. The attorney for Nichols alledged that pricking with a sail needle was not a cruel punishment, but his sophistry was cut to pieces by the judge in his charge to the jury, who brought in a verdict of guilty against Nichols and the mate, but recommended the latter to mercy, being subject to Nichols' orders. Here was one of the most cold blooded acts of cruelty that could be perpetrated. How often have our citizens expressed their horror at hearing of the Spanish bull-bating, but here an individual, under their own laws, was guilty of the same inhumanity to a human being that the Matadores inflict upon the bull; and his cruelty was even more refined; the pikes with which the Spaniards goad their bulls are not sharp pointed, but here a sail needle is used in the same manner upon a man, who has not the hide of a bull to protect him. A wound from a sail needle is extremely painful, as every sailmaker and seaman can testify, and an incision made with it is a more excruciating pain than a similar wound would occasion if made with any sharp round instrument. Whether this is owing to its being three square or not I cannot tell, but am well convinced, from experience, of the fact. Although I never had the master of a vessel amuse himself pricking me with one, I have often pricked myself when mending sails or covering straps.

If the man had shipped to perform a duty that he was incapable of, the law points out a punishment, without leaving it to the discretion of the master, who may have been imposed upon in that manner. But the question will naturally arise, what became of the Americans that took the ship to Liverpool, how they came to leave her there, by which means others had to be shipped? When the Caravan left the United States two-thirds of her crew must have been American citizens, and if they were such, they could not be discharged in a foreign port, unless three month's extra pay was paid into the consul's hands, for each man so discharged. If these men deserted, what was their reason for doing so? It is very seldom that an American seaman will run away from his ship in a British port unless he has been badly treated; if two-thirds of her former crew were not American citizens, then is Nichols

a perjured man, for he must have sworn at the custom-house, previous to his clearing out, that to the best of his knowledge, such was the case. But it appears from the whole, that Nichols is unworthy of command, and that he has acted in so barbarous a manner that he strongly calls to our remembrance the Roman amphitheatre,—the arena and gladiators. The mate was recommended to mercy. In this case the jury were too lenient; the mate was subject to the orders of Nichols, but he must have known that if ordered to maltreat a man, that that order was unlawful. And it appeared that he jumped upon the man's breast, while he was lying upon the deck, from malignity and wanton depravity of disposition, and not from any orders that he had received.

It so seldom happens that masters of vessels are prosecuted to conviction for the outrages committed on seamen, that the public were led to expect that a heavy punishment would be the penalty in this case,—as the outrage was so atrocious, and no mitigating circumstances connected with the affair, the offender would be sentenced to the extent of the law, as a warning to others: but their expectations were not realized. Nichols was, as Judge Story said, a young man, and was sentenced to ninety days imprisonment, and to pay a fine of one hundred dollars; the mate, to pay a fine of ten dollars, and thirty days imprisonment. The outrage on the rights of the people, in the lenity of the sentence, can only be equalled by the enormity of the crime. Can Judge Story lay one hand upon his heart, the other on the Bible, and look to the throne of heaven and declare that he faithfully discharged his duty as an administrator of the law, and that he verily believes the sentence was commensurate with the offence? If so, his lack of judgment renders him unfit for a seat at a judicial tribunal, and he ought to be hurled from the bench, as utterly inadequate to a discharge of the duties assigned him. I would ask him if there was no motive but commiseration for the youth of the criminal, that actuated him? Was there no application made to him beforehand, in behalf of the prisoner, by wealthy relatives or friends? If not, he has brought himself, and the bench at which he presides, into the most ineffable contempt,

from no motive but excess of generosity. The man who has so much of the milk of human kindness in his veins that he cannot decide for the good of the public, in opposition to his own feelings, is unworthy of his place. "Out of thine own mouth will I condemn thee," thou wicked one. Hear what Joseph Story, L. L. D., in the Constitutional Class Book, says: "Without justice being fully, freely, and impartially administered, neither our persons, nor our rights, nor our property, can be protected. Call the form of government whatever you may, if justice cannot be equally obtained by all classes of our citizens, high and low, rich and poor, it is a mere despotism." Now we see how far the precept, inculcated by Judge Story, is in accordance with the example of the law which he pretends to follow. Had a common seaman stood in the place of Nichols, what would his sentence have been? Would Judge Story have considered his youth as an extenuation of his crime? No. He would have used that against him, as evincing the tyranny of his disposition, and have sent him to eat the bitter bread of punishment within the walls of the state prison, which he would have deserved. He would have availed himself of the occasion, mounted his hobby, (incessant talk) and read a long lecture to the criminal and the audience, on the depravity, ignorance, degradation, and vicious habits of seamen; he would have held them up as monsters in human shape; but the young *Captain Nichols* stood at the bar, who happened to have a father who was born before him, worth thousands, which materially altered the case. How horrible it would have been to have sent him to the state prison! him who had been used to luxury, to tear him from the arms of his affectionate family, and incarcerate him in a dungeon, like one of the common herd, would be monstrous. It is the first time that I have ever known youth to be received as a mitigation of such an offence; on the contrary, youth acts on the other scale of the balance, and the decisions of our courts of justice prove it, as at the May term of the municipal court, Richard Stanwood, a boy, was convicted of stealing eight dollars from the desk of Hiram Wellington, Esq., and he was sentenced to the house of correction for three years; but the *mild, gentle, young Cap-*

tain Nichols, who had been accessory to a man's death, by foul means, was let off with three months. Can the public look upon such an act without horror? I solemnly declare that if it was my last breath I would spend it in declaring that I detest men who can have the face to commit such flagrant breaches of their trust before the eye of an enlightened public. Had an American read such an account in Capt. Hall's or Mrs. Trollope's works on America, they would have declared that it was a caricature on the judicial character of their country. This is not the extent of the lenity shown, however, for Judge Story very kindly softened the sentence which he had passed (to please those who might have found fault if not punished at all) by allowing him a choice of jails, so that Nichols went down where he belonged, and where he had influential relatives, and passed his three month's confinement in the company of friends, surrounded by every luxury that the taste of *young gentleman* could wish. Had Nichols been a man who had long held the command of a vessel, he might have become so accustomed to obedience from those around him, so habituated to command, that when he was in any way opposed, he would be likely to resort to harsh measures; but here the reverse is the case, he is a young, depraved, tyrannical man, and in three months is set at liberty to commit anew similar offences. Next time, however, he may do those acts in foreign countries, or suborn witnesses, and escape punishment. This slight punishment will not cure him of the vice, it will only cause him to be more wary and artful in order to escape detection.

If this man is so young that his youth is to excuse his crimes how has he become invested with the command of a ship? Has he arrived at that command by his merit, or has he crept through the cabin windows by means of his father's wealth? I do not know him, neither will any man of feeling wish an introduction to him; yet I strongly suspect that he is some ship's cousin. Had he been placed upon a vessel's fore-castle and compelled to work his way aft by his merit, it is more than probable that he would have been messing in a fore-castle at this time, and subject to such treatment as he has wantonly

inflicted on others. I am the last person who would wish to countenance a man who ships to perform a duty of which he is ignorant, and this is an offence for which an individual ought to be punished; and if flogging is to be resorted to to punish offences, I know of none, except that of raising a weapon against the master of a vessel, where it would be so deservedly inflicted, as in this. But that punishment ought to be inflicted in a proper manner, and should not extend so far as to deprive a man of his life. From the state of our merchant service at present, and there being no law to regulate apprentices, as has been shown, young men are enabled to make a voyage or two to sea and then ship as able seamen, to the injury of the owner and master of the vessel. These impositions are very frequent, and they cannot be detected in time to remedy the evil. On shore, if a man employs another and he cannot perform the duty for which he was engaged, he may be discharged; but on board of a ship the case is very different; a man may have the appearance of a seaman, and if he says he is such, his word must be taken, for it is not until the vessel has been to sea that it can be proven; hence the positive necessity for some law to guard against such abuses. If a man is found incapable of doing the duty for which he shipped, he cannot be discharged in a foreign port. The vessel is bound to bring him home, and during the voyage others have to do his duty. The master of the vessel may stop his pay, or a part of it, but this does not satisfy those who have to do his duty in addition to their own. This happens very often out of New Orleans, as the high rate of seaman's wages induce rapacious landlords to send any creature on board of a ship as a seaman, so long as they can receive his advance; they are perfectly indifferent as to his qualifications. Such impositions create trouble with officers and men, as those who are guilty of them are as much detested by the seamen who have to do their duty, as by the master whom they have deceived. It is a great evil, and one that will not be removed until apprentices are bound to ship-owners for a term of years sufficient to instruct them in the various and complicated duties of a seaman. But however great the provocation may have been, Nichols was no less a

criminal for the brutal punishment that he inflicted, nor is Judge Story less to blame for suffering him to escape with so paltry a punishment. By the wisdom of the framers of the constitution, the judiciary is placed beyond the reach of caprice or political influence, as judges are appointed and remain in office during good behavior, and if Judge Story's behavior has been in this instance such as was expected of him, my saying that I do not consider it so, cannot affect him, as I am only a seaman, and as such, can have no weight in his eyes. Unfortunately for him, however, others are of the same opinion as myself, which is manifest by the following article from the Boston Morning Post, of May 31, 1839 :

JUDGE STORY'S SENTENCE.

The sentence passed by Judge Story, in the circuit court, upon Nichols and Couch, master and mate of ship Caravan, was a disappointment to every person present, and will do more to throw contempt upon the administration of criminal law in the United States than any sentence upon record. These individuals were indicted under a statute of the United States, which forbids the infliction of "cruel and unusual punishments from malice, hatred, or revenge," under the penalty of "a fine of \$1000, or five years imprisonment, either or both, according to the nature and aggravation of the offence." The facts in the case have been already stated in the papers of the day, and are briefly these :—One Henry Burr, a German, shipped at Liverpool, on board of Nichols's ship, as a cook, and turned out to be grossly and utterly incompetent to the office. He was accordingly displaced and sent into the fore-castle. But, not satisfied with this, he was made the object of incessant and cruel persecution by these fiends in human shape, until death at last snatched him from their clutches. It was in evidence that he was beaten every day but one, (and then he was confined to his berth from the effects of previous beatings,) by the captain or mate, and sometimes by both. The captain would sometimes order him to draw bucket after bucket of water, and dash them over him successively. One of the witnesses, being asked if he ever saw him wet more than once, answered that he "*hardly ever saw him dry.*" But, as if to fill up the measure of their barbarity, these wretches devised a new instrument of torture, by fixing a sail needle in the end of a piece of bamboo, with which they pricked the miserable object of their malice, to beguile the leisure hours of a tedious passage, laughing inhumanly at the windings and contortions of their victim. When death at last ransomed him, he was pitched into the deep like a dead dog, no prayer being uttered, and only the most trivial notice taken of the circumstance in the log-book. One witness seemed to have it upon his conscience to declare repeatedly, that this was the first burial at sea he ever saw without a prayer.

The defence in this case was as frivolous as the crime was atrocious. The counsel laboriously argued that the punishment, with the pricker,

though "unusual," was not "cruel,"—as many would "prefer a few pricks with a needle to being beaten with a rope's end—that the discipline of the ship required that Burr should be punished for neglect of duty—(as if a seaman's duty could be required of him when he had pretended only to be a cook, and not to have any knowledge of a seaman's life)—and, lastly, that the punishment was not greater than the occasion justified. Unhappily for the defence, there was not the discrepancy in the testimony usual in maritime cases—no material fact being negatived by the witnesses for the defendants.

The web of sophistry which had been woven by the counsel for the defendants, was mercilessly cleft to pieces by the charge of the judge. It was a noble charge, and did justice to the moral indignation which burnt in the hearts of the numerous auditors with which the court-room was thronged. He animadverted in fit terms upon the atrocious cruelty and heartlessness of the offence—the barbarity and relentlessness of the persecution which they had inflicted, and the cool, satanic hate, with which it had been devised and persisted in. The consequence was a verdict of guilty—Couch, however, being recommended to mercy—probably because he was supposed to have acted at the instigation, and in fear of the captain.

What punishment, then, was due to that captain? I say, without fear of contradiction, that the imagination of man cannot conceive of an additional circumstance to heighten the aggravation of Captain Nichols's offence. The provocation was but slight—a disappointment, rather than a provocation—while the punishment was excessive, inhuman, continuous, cold-blooded, and implacable. If ever a man deserved to taste the unmitigated penalty of violated law, that man was Nichols. Five years imprisonment and a thousand dollars fine, as a mild portion for one who was only not indicted for manslaughter or murder, because, from the well known reluctance of juries to convict, it was feared he would escape altogether. But instead of any proportionate sentence, the judge, after a deal of twattle about the youth of the parties, and his own sympathy with the maritime interest, proceeded to sentence Couch to *ten dollars fine and thirty days imprisonment*, and Nichols, the instigator of all the cruelty and the perpetrator of most of it; Nichols, one of the most heartless and merciless of monsters, to *ONE HUNDRED dollars fine and NINETY days imprisonment!* And all the time he seemed to beg their pardon for sentencing them at all, and very politely gave them their choice of jails! They laughed in his face, as well they might; and would have quoted, had they known it, "*Parturiunt montes, nascitur ridiculus mus*"—so frivolous seemed the sentence, when compared with the stern, but just, severity of the charge.

Every man in the audience was disappointed, nay, shocked. It was obvious, that such a sentence was a mere farce—it "kept the" statute "to the ear and broke it to the hope." Who could help reflecting upon the careless indifference with which a poor loafer is deprived of liberty, and sent to the house of correction merely for drunkenness—or to the state prison for a year for some row in a brothel, while here, the most unrelenting and savage atrocity, resulting in the death of an innocent man, was visited with a paltry fine and as paltry a confinement? If we are to have criminal laws, let us have them administered. The next thing to having none, is to have them judicially abrogated. If the life of a man is held so cheap in our courts, we need not wonder that it is held still cheaper, and even

worthless, at sea. It is time that the remorseless cruelty of barbarian sea-captains was arrested, and they made to feel, that though rulers, they may not be tyrants, and that the broad *Ægis* of the law is over the very humblest citizen, for his protection, on the remotest wave or shore of the deep.

A few more such flagrant instances of judicial weakness will make the name of justice a laughing stock among us,—and the homeless and houseless mariner will have more to dread from the unrestrained passions and unpunishable ferocity of man, than from all the perils of the waves, or the asperities of the most inhospitable regions.

We invoke no vindictive punishments. Let justice always be tempered with mercy. But if five years imprisonment and a thousand dollars fine be a disproportionate punishment for such offenders as Nichols, it is high time our criminal code was reformed, and the punishment of arson and highway robbery made confinement for a few years instead of death, and of theft, and forgery, and adultery, reduced to *months* instead of years. Let the severity of the punishment be proportioned to the guilt, rather than the wealth, or family of the offender,—and be administered with an inflexible and uncompromising sternness, worthy the importance of the interests which penal laws are enacted to protect.

"Fiat justitia—ruat cælum."

AN ON-LOOKER.

CHAPTER XVI.

Great care requisite in the selection of officers for the merchant service—probable losses from their ignorance—ignorance of seamen—efforts of individuals to improve their condition—assistance required from the general government—seamen on the lakes compared with those on our sea board—education—want thereof—proposals to effect that object—want of teachers for seamen of the navy.

NEVER let our citizens express their horror or disapprobation of punishment in the navy, when they know that one individual hired by another, is daily exercising the same power without having the same restraints imposed upon them that public officers have. It very often happens that mates are more to blame than masters, therefore great care ought to be taken in their selection, and they should be examined previous to being engaged. The master of a vessel is bound to support his mates, but he ought to be clear-sighted enough to see how far that support is required, and whether the cause be a just one, I never commanded a merchant vessel, but I have commanded men, and during the whole of my experience in the navy and

merchant service, I have ever found that men will obey with more alacrity if mild language is used, than by violence or abuse, and will obey quicker from love than from fear. The proper qualifications to command respect and obedience has not received that attention that the importance of the subject demands. It is impossible to state with any degree of exactness, the immense losses that our merchants annually sustain, by revolts, mutinies, and other causes, inseparable from our present system of nautical arrangements; but even if this could be done, the sum would be so enormous as to exceed belief. Much of this loss is occasioned by the incompetence and ignorance of officers. It is not only necessary that a ship-master should be an experienced practical seaman and navigator, but he should also thoroughly understand the laws of gravitation and buoyancy. For in consequence of their ignorance on these important subjects, we frequently hear of vessels being abandoned, and picked up at sea months afterwards, with masts standing, yards across, and sails bent, and in some instances without water in the hold. A shipmaster who thus abandons his vessel ought never again to be intrusted with command. That all masters and officers of ships should be sober men will be admitted; but that all are so will admit of a doubt. From intemperance among both officers and men much evil arises. By an article in the "Boston Morning Post," copied from the Sailor's Magazine of January, 1836, it appears "that three hundred and sixteen vessels, and eight hundred and twenty-six lives were lost in 1826. Estimating the value of each vessel and cargo at \$20,000, we have the amount of \$6,320,000 lost in one year by shipwrecks." A vessel may often be wrecked by the splitting of a sail, for the loss of it may prevent her from clearing some known danger, and that sail might have been saved if that unanimity and reciprocity of feeling existed between officers and men, which is so absolutely necessary to insure the prompt execution of any arduous duty. "You may lead a horse to water, but you cannot make him drink," is an old adage, but no less true. You may order a seaman aloft to reef or furl a sail, but you cannot make him go with alacrity, or do the duty assigned him with the same speed or

interest, if he has been badly treated, that he otherwise would. From this cause many disasters occur. It would be within bounds to suppose that three-fourths of the shipwrecks of 1826, were occasioned by other causes than the violence of the gales or the dispensations of Divine Providence ; if that is the case, in that year alone, there was a loss of \$4,740,000, either to merchants, ship-owners, or insurance offices, and this ought surely to demand their attention. I am well aware that such calculations are frequently made and brought before the public, by those who are vastly my superiors in education, and therefore could dress their remarks and coincidences in better language than a *common sailor*. But these deductions are often made to favor some plan of the writer, who is very probably as ignorant of seamen's manners and habits while on board of a ship, as a ringtail monkey is of logarithms. I have no object to accomplish but that of benefiting the merchant and seaman, for their interests are inseparable ; and if my style is uncouth, I have at least the advantage of practical experience and a knowledge of what I would describe, although I may be very deficient in scholastic education, nor need that be wondered at when the disadvantages under which I have labored are duly considered. With regard to the instances already enumerated, it must be obvious to every reader that there is a radical wrong existing some where, whether in the incapability of the officers, or seamen, the insufficiency of the laws for their protection and encouragement, or in all three ; must be judged by the public. But that there is a wrong or an evil existing can no longer be doubted, and it ought to be remedied. That great difficulties arise from the ignorance of seamen respecting the law, I am well satisfied. They are under the impression that under certain circumstances they may refuse to do duty without a violation of them, or rendering themselves liable to punishment ; and this would easily be removed by having more attention paid to their instruction. For some time past many philanthropic individuals in Boston, New York, and other northern ports, have given much of their attention to the moral condition of seamen. But until that becomes general throughout the Union, the benefits arising from their exertions will be

but little felt. It is true that seamen when they go to sea from ports sober and steady, they will be enabled to do their duty better; but further than that, there is no benefit to be derived from such a course. If on their arrival in a southern port they are enticed into haunts of infamy and dissipation, what they save at the north serves to enrich bawds and landlords at the south; who are beings destitute of every moral principle. Keeping a seaman sober while in Boston and plunging him into dissipation in New Orleans, is like placing him in a warm bath when nearly frozen, and when restored to comfort thrusting him out again into the cold piercing blast; his constitution receives a greater shock by it, and he looks back to the short time that he enjoyed comfort and happiness, as a spot of sunshine lingering unfaded amid a dark and dreary waste. The merchants, shipmasters, and citizens of New Orleans, have at length awakened to a sense of this evil, and the destitute condition of seamen. And such being the case, the great river city will not, it is hoped, be backward in assisting to produce the very requisite reformation in the character of so useful a class of men. Let a strenuous effort be once made throughout the Union, and in a short time the monsters that chained seamen in their iron grasp will be laid in the dust. Intemperance and ignorance, their most deadly enemies, will be banished from among them, and whatever remains to be accomplished will go hand and hand with the continued diffusion of useful knowledge. It must be gratifying to every philanthropic and liberal minded man, every merchant, every ship-owner, every friend of seamen, and every American citizen, to know that vigorous efforts are being put in force in many of our sea ports to accomplish this very desirable object. In a country like the United States, every citizen must feel interested in the welfare of this class of men, for on them, in a great measure, depends the welfare of the country. There are very few indeed, on our extensive sea-board, who are not in some way connected with seamen; the merchant, ship-owner, those who hold shares in insurance offices, and those who have friends who follow the sea. Persons who take passage either on business, for recreation, health, or improvement, are more or less interested, as

well as the nation at large ; for upon seamen the duty devolves to bring those articles to our shores on which the duty is paid, that fills our treasury, and enables us to meet our national expenses.

The government, long ere this, ought to have done something for seamen ; but while it has been carefully scrutinizing the intellectual improvement of the naval officers, it has evinced an apathy towards seamen, which would imply a total incapacity on their part to arrive at any other standard of moral excellence, than is to be found in the character of the honest and redoubtable "Tom Pipes." The truth is, if the condition of seamen is left to be ameliorated by the government, it will be done about the time that the celebrated Charles Fox agreed to pay his debts—that was the day after the day of judgment. Who are they who look upon seamen as incapable of any further advances towards perfectability ? And who do not believe that the cause of truth and virtue are marching onward ? We have only to draw a comparison between the seamen on the sea coast and those upon the lakes, to see what they are capable of. On the lakes we hear of them holding meetings and entering into resolutions to respect the Sabbath, attending the worship of Almighty God, and appropriating a part of their monthly pay for the relief of those who are disabled, by sickness or accident, from earning a subsistence for themselves—but drawing a clause, whereby none of such a fund should be appropriated for those who brought disease upon themselves. With such ocular demonstration before us, we can no longer imagine that seamen are incapable of social duties, nor look upon them as irrational beings—an error which many have fallen into respecting them. But much of what requires to be done, ought to be accomplished by the general and state governments, and this subject ought to be introduced to the notice of Congress, at an early period. That body is, no doubt, liberally disposed towards seamen, and especially those of the navy ; and was some proper plan laid before them for improving their condition, there can be no doubt but what it would meet with their concurrence and support,—and some method might be taken to instil into their minds "those protecting principles which at

once guard, consecrate, and sweeten, the social intercourse which constitutes man's purity, his best protection." Seamen certainly have a right to expect some amelioration of their condition, from policy—to claim it from justice, and demand it from gratitude; or are they to be left to drift, without chart, helm, anchor or compass, into the shoreless ocean of impiety? Perhaps their tameness and submission may be construed into a proof of apathy—and my daring to raise my voice, feeble as it is, in their behalf, may be construed into audacity.

Hitherto there has been no attention paid to the education of seamen, either in the merchant or naval service, although in the latter there are teachers allowed and provision made by law. Whether the teachers are to instruct officers only, in addition to the professors, I cannot attempt to determine. I should suppose that a person receiving one hundred dollars per month, could afford to instruct the officers, and let the teachers turn their attention to the boys and youngsters of the crew. There are many young men in the navy who, in three years, could receive as much or more instruction than they could in a year at school, where their whole time and attention would be devoted to it, and that, too, without at all interfering with their duty, was it only properly attended to. If a bent was once given to their inclination in this way, they would follow it, and much good would be the result. When I was a youngster, on board the ship *Venus*, of New York, the crew were all Americans, and we used to sit up during our forenoon watch, and instruct ourselves—and on Sunday, if the weather was fine, we would all assemble on the fore-castle, and read or otherwise amuse ourselves—thereby combining amusement with instruction; and the same is the case at present, on board of some of our northern vessels, although rarely, which is possibly to be attributed to the great increase of our commerce, without the corresponding increase of native seamen, and a consequent influx of foreigners, whose tastes and habits are so dissimilar to those of the native; so that at the present day the young seaman, instead of improving himself, except in his profession, soon forgets all that he has learned—loses that respect for religion which is so essentially necessary in the character of every man,

let his station in life be what it may,—thus having no restraint placed upon his inclinations by a fear of God, he runs into debauchery and vice.

There are many individuals in our northern ports who devote much of their time to the instruction, and bettering the condition, of seamen: the most prominent of which is the Rev. E. T. Taylor, of Boston; but I must differ from them, as to the manner by which they wish to impart that instruction. They expect too much at first, from the sailor. They place books in his hands, commonly tracts, of an entire religious nature, and thereby disgust him at once. In fact, I never knew any real benefit derived from these tracts, and I have seen hundreds of them on board of our ships. The numerous certificates that I have seen published, purporting to be certificates of the good done by them, I rather take to be fiction, for some interested motives, or else the signers of them were so enthusiastic that they were easily deceived by the seamen, who possibly laughed at their *gullibility* when their backs were turned. It is true that a seaman, on Sunday, who has nothing to do at sea if the weather is fine, would rather read a tract, if he can read, than be without reading at all—but give him romance, travels and history, and see if those who are believed to be the most pious, will not take either of those in preference to tracts. The first step, in my opinion, to be taken with regard to the improvement of seamen, must be in destroying the fabric of their bad habits and vices. When this is razed to the foundation, and not one stone left standing upon another, then commence to lay the foundation of improvement—but raise it not too hastily, or it will soon crumble to pieces—let every stone be placed and firmly cemented, before another is laid upon it—and let the last one be religion, which will come to its place of itself, without much effort on the part of the builder. There is a Bible to each mess on board of our ships of war, but they are not used in any way except as an ornament on the top of the mess can, on the mess chest. The cook of a mess will be flogged if the Bible is not in its place as an ornament, but nothing will be said to him for not applying it to the use for which it was intended.

By the general directions from the President of the United States, (I know not what date, as it is torn off, in the work before me, but the owner's name is in it, dated 1812,) and signed by Benjamin Homans, acting secretary of the navy, schoolmasters are directed to teach junior officers, and whoever else the captain may direct. But were there ever any instructed by those schoolmasters, except officers? Never, since I knew the navy. A short time after I was appointed a gunner in the navy, I was ordered to the United States ship Concord, and on board of her there was one of the professors appointed under the new regulations. I was anxious to increase my limited knowledge of mathematics, as I consider a knowledge of that branch essentially necessary for a gunner, who ought to be, as in the French service, the officer to instruct the junior officers and the seamen in the use of the great guns and small arms, which is also the case in the British service, although not in ours. The lieutenants, in our navy, have to instruct the seamen in the exercise of the great guns—and a sargeant, or corporal of marines, the use of the small arms—and that is one great reason why seamen are so much opposed to this necessary branch of their education as defenders of our country, and this also serves to foster the ill feeling between soldiers and seamen—for however great their respect may be for a sargeant or corporal, the moment that he is placed over them to drill them, their hatred commences; whereas, if a gunner, who has risen from among them, was capable of instructing them, the case would be different, and the improvement under his tuition would be more rapid. But to resume. I did not wish, on my joining the Concord, to apply to the professor to instruct me in mathematics, although I dare say Professor McGowan would have done so; but as he had just entered the service, and was ignorant of its rules and customs, I was under the impression that he would afterwards have thought that I had taken advantage of his ignorance. The captain was my personal friend, but him I could not apply to for an order to that effect, as it was unusual, and would have been construed into a wish on my part to receive greater favors and indulgencies than had hitherto been customary in the service; so that during the long time we lay at Tampa Bay,

when most of the officers were absent on expeditions, and little was carried on, on board, I was compelled to solve the problems in Hutton and Euclid, as best I might. The disadvantage which I labored under when a boy, still followed me when I became an officer, except that the increase of my pay enabled me to purchase such books as I wanted, and in my state room I could study when I pleased; and nothing more was wanting but a teacher to direct my studies.

Schoolmasters, of talent and education, have at different times been appointed in the navy; but they, and chaplains, whose duty it ought to be, have never pointed out any plan for education, except in regard to officers. They have written amusing volumes, but have studiously avoided pointing out any of the abuses, which they must have observed, and which they could have done with a greater prospect of success than can be anticipated from any production of a man like myself, who has had to pick up his education as chance offered, and that, too, at a time when there was not the attention paid to boys that there is at present. When I entered the navy, boys were allowed to drink half a pint of spirits per day, and "get monkeys' allowance," as Capt. Marryat has it, that is, "more kicks than half pence." It may truly be said of education, "of all the blessings which it has pleased Providence to allow us to cultivate, there is none which breathes a purer fragrance, or bears a more heavenly aspect. It is a companion that no misfortune can depress, no clime destroy, no enemy alienate, no despotism enslave: at home a friend, abroad an introduction, in solitude a solace, in society an ornament: it chastens vice, it guides virtue, it gives at once a grace and government to genius. Without it what is man? A splendid slave! a reasoning savage." "All the superstitions which enslave, the prejudices which debase, vanish before education."

With regard to the plan for the improvement and education of seamen, I will venture to say but little, and leave it in abler hands than my own. But it appears that there ought to be one or more schools in all our sea ports (according to their size) provided with books, maps, charts, and teachers properly qualified to instruct seamen in the use of them, a knowledge of which

is so essentially necessary to enable them to perform their duty as seamen and citizens. I would not recommend to make every seaman a finished scholar, for that were impracticable; but "there is always this advantage in aiming at higher results—that the failure is never total, and that, though the end accomplished may fall far short of that proposed, it cannot but reach far in advance of the point from which we start. There is never any great and permanent good accomplished but by hoping for, and aiming at, something still greater." Another advantage would be gained by establishing schools—that is, that mental occupation would keep seamen from dissipation. Nothing is truer than that a man who has nought to do, generally tries to kill time by resorting to places where he sooner or later kills himself. How incalculable, then, would be the benefit from having schools, if the listlessness and ennui which prompts them to a use of ardent spirits were removed, and the school room made more attractive than the neighboring grog shop.

It is shocking to the mind of any liberal-minded man, to reflect that so many of his brethren are daily passing before his eyes, who are totally uneducated. The ignorant Indian believes in the existence of a great spirit—the Hindoo kneels to his wooden god, and solicits assistance from an inanimate block of wood: the cause of this is ignorance, which is the parent of credulity and scepticism. Then why wonder that the seamen, who are nearly as ignorant, should believe in the existence of "a flying Dutchman," or that Friday is an unlucky day? Had the money which has been expended on foreign missionaries been expended upon seamen, who are equally in as much need of instruction as the heathen, they would, long ere this, have borne a different character. I may say, with a celebrated orator, that "you traverse the ocean to emancipate the African; you cross the line to convert the Hindoo," and Sandwich Islander; "but your brethren at home, who speak the same tongue, acknowledge the same law, and kneel to the same God, cannot get one visit from your itinerant humanity. Such a system is almost too abominable for a name; it is a monster of impiety, impolicy, ingratitude and injustice! The Pagan nations of antiquity scarcely acted upon such barbarous principles."

This language was used in behalf of the Irish Catholics, but it may be equally applied to the American seamen. "To justify this enormity there is no argument; now is the time to concede with dignity what has never been denied without injustice." The attention of the general government ought to be turned to this subject; and I regret that the duty of bringing it to public notice has devolved on one so unable to fulfil the task; but "he who waits for an opportunity to do much at once, may breathe out his life in idle wishes, and regret, in his last hour, his useless intentions and barren zeal."

CHAPTER XVII.

"Degradation of seamen"—subscriptions—want of a library for the crews of ships of war and merchant vessels—Sandwich Islanders—their supply of books—the navy slush fund—its mal appropriation—books and education provided for by hunting up and applying the hospital fund—abuse respecting it and its estimated amount—naval hospitals and medical department of ships in the navy.

"THE degradation of seamen is a fruitful theme with those who know nothing about them, or who are interested in such misrepresentations. It is evident that people who tell about the degradation of seamen, do not know in what degradation consists. The miserly rascal who would withhold a copper from a starving child, while he swindles the seaman out of his hard earnings, will whine about the degradation of the whole class. No doubt he thinks it perfectly right to cheat him, laying this unction to his conscience, that his victim is a degraded being. The parson, while he takes all the sailor's change to assist him in converting the heathen, tells about the degradation of the contributor, and from the manner in which he speaks of him, one would suppose that he thought it right to take the devil's money to build churches with. He would not eat nor drink with the hardy son of the ocean, but he is very willing to take his money. The judge, bolstered up on his high seat, tells about the degradation of seamen, and makes this an ex-

cuse for tilting the scales of justice, of violating even handed justice, and dealing to him punishment where he should receive damages! Yes, a judge, whose whole life has been spent in the closet or on the bench, who knows no more of a vessel, or the conduct of seamen on board of one of them than a ring tailed monkey does of the law, very gravely tells the public that sailors are a degraded class of beings. (*Here the work from which I extract is mutilated.*) * * Yes, degraded because, through storm and tempest, they bring him, from distant shores, the tea which he sips at night, the broadcloth which covers him, and the china which shines in his cupboard—degraded, because when he is snoring in bed, under the effects of a brandy potion, they are buffeting the storm upon the white surges of the ocean—degraded, because while he is hobbling about with the rheumatism, gout, or some filthy disorder, they are hale, fearless, and wholesome.

“Every little chimney corner whipper snapper is permitted to start up and tell of the degradation of seamen—men of whom he is totally ignorant, whom he never saw in their accustomed element, and of whose customs and conduct at sea he must, of course, be profoundly ignorant. On the other hand, many shipmasters and officers are glad to take advantage of this opinion which landsmen have formed of seamen, as it affords an excuse for oppressing them, and keeping them under as much as possible. If seamen are degraded, the public generally, and sea officers in particular, go the right way to work to keep them so. But degradation does not consist in wearing a tarpaulin hat and a blue jacket. It rather consists in falsehood, avarice, and oppression, all of which qualities are most conspicuous in the traducers of seamen.”

There are too many truths in the foregoing extract. On board of our vessels of war, especially, there are always some object or other for which the crews are solicited to subscribe, A preacher came on board the U. S. ship Delaware, to solicit contributions to build a church at Washington, where there is scarcely a seaman to be seen. A subscription was got up at Pensacola, some years ago, for the same purpose, although there is not a church there that they wish to see a seaman en-

ter. Churches for seamen have generally been built by the merchants and citizens, while the sums raised from seamen have generally filled the pockets of those who solicited their money. On board the *Lexington*, during a cruise on the coast of Brazil, a subscription was raised to purchase instruments for a band of musicians, another to purchase a piece of ground in Bahia for a burying ground, where there is not one man-of-war's man dies in five years, another for some object that I have forgotten. This method of taking money from seamen is unprincipled, and the officers ought to guard them from impositions of this nature, for if a seaman is asked to subscribe to anything, no matter what, he instantly puts down his name, if he sees the captain's down before him. There is no purpose for which a subscription could be got up on board of a vessel of war, from which so much benefit would be derived, as for a library, and this is seldom done, and the want of such books as would instruct and amuse, is much felt. There is a library furnished by the government for every vessel of war, but the books are, like the teachers, only for the officers; neither are the books such as sailors require. They are chiefly professional, and large, handsomely bound volumes, which could not be distributed to the crew, for was one volume to be lost or destroyed, the whole sett would be ruined, which cost two or three hundred dollars. When I was on board the *Lexington* in 1831-32 and 33, I read every book that I could procure from the officers, but I never could get one from the library until after Capt. McK——r took the command, and even then I had to bow and scringe to his clerk, to get me the books which I was allowed by the captain, which was very mortifying to my feelings. I was often kept several days waiting for a volume, and I at length gave it up in despair, after having read Gibbon's decline and fall of the Roman Empire, Botta's History of the United States and life of Washington, Irving's Columbus, Mutiny of the Bounty, and Cooper's novels. When I had these books I used to go on the fore-castle, or between two guns, and read aloud to a knot of perhaps twenty or thirty, who would gather round and listen. Many of these men could have read themselves, if they had had the books to read.

Captain McK——r observed this, for nothing escaped his notice that tended to the comfort of his men, and he gave me all the small works in the library, and several of his own, for the use of the crew ; this created such a taste for reading that a number of us subscribed a small sum each, and Lieut. Myers bought us books in Buenos Ayres. The officers, also, gave several volumes, and by this means we raised a small library, which was arranged on shelves along the beams in the store-room ; and to prevent its interfering with the ship's duty, from one to two, P. M. was the hour appointed to return and receive books, and this plan was productive of much benefit, as the time devoted to reading would have been spent in idleness, or relating, or listening to immoral stories. Those who could not read, listened to others who could, and read aloud for their edification ; thus all were benefited. There are some instances where the crews of ships are permitted to subscribe a dollar or two each, to purchase books for themselves before they leave the United States, where books can be purchased so cheap. This was the case on board the frigate *Potomac*, when under the command of Commodore Downes, and is so on board several vessels, and has always been found to be beneficial, and producing a moral tendency. While seamen are left without books, huge bundles of tracts are sent to the Sandwich Islands, on drunkenness, usury, mail robbery, and dissoluteness. Missionaries are appointed with handsome salaries, which they increase by selling or exchanging these tracts for a fat chicken or other dainty pleasing to the palate. And all that remains to be accomplished, in this land of blindness and insufficient good works, is the rearing of prisons to incarcerate debtors, statutes to hang men for murder, and a touch of negro slavery.

There are ample resources for furnishing seamen of the merchant and naval service with books and education, if they could only be allowed the use of their own. The sailors in the navy are allowed, on Sunday and Thursday, one and one-fourth, and on Tuesday one pound of salt beef, on Monday, Wednesday, and Saturday, one pound of pork. From this provision, when cooked, after being for a long time in salt, as is usually the case, nearly all the fat boils off ; this is carefully skimmed

from the boilers, or coppers, as they are called, and put into empty beef or pork barrels, and sold, and the money so received is called the *slush fund*. As the provision is weighed to the crew before being boiled, all that comes from it ought to be given to them, as it forms a component part of their ration. The coppers are furnished by the government, and a cook paid to attend them, so that all the slush that is saved by him belongs to the crew, and the money received for the sale of that article ought to be given to them or laid out for their benefit. Hitherto this has not been done, but on the contrary, it has been expended to purchase such fancy articles as are not allowed by the regulations, such as cushions for boats, musical instruments, gold leaf, and I have known a carpet bought for a ward-room, and Turkish rugs for a cabin, with this money, thereby making a fair division of the spoil unlawfully taken from the crew. It has been the custom of the service to leave this fund at the disposal of the first lieutenant, but that is no reason why it should continue to be, for such a practice is wrong, and the amount received for the slush during a cruise could be recovered by the crew by a course of law. It may be said that if the first lieutenant cannot use this fund as he pleases he may make the cook throw it overboard. A first lieutenant has certainly great power, but it can hardly be supposed that he would use it in this manner, for it would be similar to telling a man if he did not give him his property he would make him destroy it. Happily the officers of our navy are more conscientious about such matters than they formerly were, and I am convinced that this abuse only requires to be pointed out to them in order to ensure its correction. If the government will not provide books for seamen, they should be allowed what belongs to them, and which could be appropriated for that purpose. I have known one hundred and twenty dollars to be advanced by the purser of a sloop of war, on the credit of this fund, to purchase musical instruments; and musicians are not allowed on board of vessels of that class, by the regulations, and having them is an abuse. They receive seamen's rates on the books of the ship, and do nothing but play for the amusement of parties, while others have to perform their duty.

Where musicians are required, they are allowed, and instruments furnished by the government ; where they are not, the sailor's ration ought not to be taken to support them. Any bookseller would furnish three or four hundred dollars worth of books on the credit of this fund, which could be remitted to him as chance offered, or the money might be advanced by the purser previous to the sailing of the vessels, with as much propriety, for this purpose, as for musical instruments. I cannot form a correct estimate of what this fund would amount to during a three year's cruise of a sloop of war or frigate, but it is very considerable, possibly four hundred and fifty dollars in the former, and eight hundred in the latter. If this money was laid out as it ought to be, the crews of vessels of war could have a handsome library, as well as be furnished with the popular newspapers and periodicals, from different parts of the United States ; and a chain of communication would be kept open between a sailor and his country, which none but those who have experienced the want of, can fully appreciate. As it is at present, a seaman or marine may go a cruise of three years, and when he returns, be ignorant of who is the chief magistrate of the state or country where he was born. That men should be kept in this state, is unpardonable. I despise those who have eyes and see not, a heart and feel not, or that cowardice and sycophancy that dare not expose such glaring wrongs. There are a number of vessels now fitting out, and the first commander and executive officer who will set the example of appropriating the slush fund for books, &c., for the use of their crew, will deserve the thanks and gratitude of seamen, exclusive of doing an act of long delayed justice, and I hope that the public will hear that some one has set an example which others would be compelled to follow.

For books for seamen of the merchant service there appears to be no fund, unless one year's hospital fund be appropriated. If we have 125,000 seamen in the United States, one year's hospital fund would be \$300,000 ; if \$50,000 is to be deducted from this for the time that they may be on shore, it would still leave \$250,000, which, if laid out in books, would furnish every ship that goes on a foreign voyage, with a small

library. Those that go a coasting would not require them, if there were schools and libraries in every port, for seamen. The want of a small compilation of the laws made by Congress respecting commerce and seamen, is much felt. If an abridged and suitable work of this kind was in every ship's fore-castle, it would lessen the number of disturbances, revolts, &c., as in that case both officers and crew would know how they stood in relation to each other, and would know how far to go without laying themselves liable to the penalties of the law, or infringing on the statutes. If such a work was published, the merchants would be gainers by furnishing their ships with two copies each, at their own expense. I have had a small work of this kind sent me by the Rev. E. T. Taylor, written by William Sullivan, Esq., counsellor at law; but although it is a good little work, yet it is by no means comprehensive enough for the purpose required. The statutes ought to be copied verbatim, and the intricate points elucidated so as to render it suitable to the comprehension of men of limited education.

With regard to schools for the education of seamen, the hospital fund which has been accumulating for the last forty years, is amply sufficient, and if it was laid out in such a way, a seaman would have a place to go to while on shore, where he could instruct and amuse himself, instead of rambling from one grog shop to another, where he spends his money and brutalizes his mind. It is now nearly forty years since the law was passed, directing twenty cents per month to be deducted from the pay of every seaman sailing in vessels belonging to individuals in the United States. This sum was directed to be paid to the collectors of ports, and by them into the treasury, to be applied by the President for the erection of hospitals for sick and disabled seamen. The same law extended to the seamen of the navy, but the fund raised from them is separate from that of the merchant service. The sum received by this law from merchant seamen is enormous, and to what purpose has it been applied? none can answer. In the name of justice and humanity will our citizens stand tamely and see men robbed of their hard earnings in this manner? Our country is rising in a commercial point of view, to the first rank among

the nations of the earth ; seamen are at the bottom of this greatness, and what has our government done for them ? What attention has it paid to their education or to qualify them to fill their hard stations in life with ability ? Was this money only hunted up and expended in the erection of schools, in our large seaports for seamen, much good would be done thereby. But no, they are left on the hands of philanthropic individuals, while their own hard earnings are withheld from them by the government. This must surely be brought to the notice of Congress ; an outrage so glaring, certainly will not be suffered to exist much longer. If we had 60,000 seamen in the United States, and they have increased 1,500 annually since that law was passed, it would make 120,000, at the present period. And the sum taken from them during this time would amount with interest to nine million and a half of dollars. If this money, or even the interest of it, was expended for the benefit of those to whom it belongs, it would soon give a different feature to the character of the seamen of the merchant service. If a rich individual was to withhold from a poor man his wages, he would merit the scorn and contempt of all good men, but how much more unpardonable must it be in a government or its officers, to keep this from seamen. I have been in every sea port of any consequence on our sea coast, from Maine to Mississippi, but have never been able to pick out any institutions erected out of this fund. The marine hospital at Chelsea, near Boston, is open for seamen of the merchant service, and there they are well attended and every necessary furnished that men may require. But there they can only remain four months, at the end of that time they are thrust out and their next asylum is the alms house ; at least such would be the case if the letter of the law was complied with, but the physician has repeatedly written to the secretary of the treasury, and from time to time obtained permission for men to remain for a longer period in this institution. Has obtained leave for sailors to remain in an institution built with their own money !* This is

* In a small work written some time ago by Wm. Sullivan, Esq. he stated that he had been informed that the accommodations at the Chelsea hospital were very poor. This was a mistake ; the rooms or wards are

the way that seamen are treated, they are left for support on charitable institutions, whereas if their own hard earnings was expended as they ought to be, when sick or disabled they would have a house, and not perish from want and sickness. Has this nine million been taken to patch up defalcations, such as those of Swartwout and Price? If so, it is high time that it should be stopped; \$250,000 annually is a pretty large sum to leave unaccounted for. If by chance this money is still in the treasury, how does it come that we do not hear of it? and why is the President not solicited to distribute it as directed by Congress. Whenever an investigation takes place on this subject, some things will be brought to light which ought to have been discovered years ago. I am under the impression that secretary Woodbury will be put to his trumps to rake up the half of nine million, instead of the whole of this fund. That there has been unpardonable neglect, if not mismanagement and speculation in this affair, cannot for a moment admit of a doubt.

While the poor sailor when in distress, is thus left to shift for himself, he is shunned by those harpies who enrich themselves at his expense while in prosperity. When the seaman has a dollar in his pocket, the distressed never apply to him in vain. He is as generous with his cash, as he is of his blood in defence of his country and rights. But with all his noble daring, his generosity, and good nature, he is unlawfully deprived of his own, and feeble are the efforts made to do him justice. Was the like injustice done to any other body of men, their case would have given rise to innumerable meetings, resolutions, and petitions, and the wrong would have been redressed. But 120,000 seamen who are deprived of vote or voice in the legislature, must suffer injustice in silence. I have said that the same law existed with regard to seamen and marines in the navy, and that the fund was separate from that of the merchant service. Out of the naval fund there has been three splendid buildings erected, which resemble palaces more than

large, spacious, and airy; and every necessary is provided for the sick, and every attention paid them by the physician, and were there such establishments in all our large sea-ports we could find no fault in the way of hospitals.

hospitals for seamen. One of them is at Norfolk, Va., one on the Schuylkill, west of Philadelphia, where a sailor is seldom seen, and the third one is at the Wallabout on Long Island, near New York. The apartments in them for seamen are comfortably fitted up; but those intended for officers are splendid. Mahogany sofas, bureaux, chairs, and rich carpets, equalling any thing of the kind to be found in the first drawing rooms in the United States. Why officers should be entitled to such splendid apartments in hospitals built with seamen's money, may be answered by those whose imagination is more fertile in divination than my own. Was the hospital fund raised by a certain per centage on the pay of individuals in the navy, then would officers pay the most towards it, according to their number; but as it is, the seaman pays as much out of his eight dollars per month, as the commodore does out of his three hundred and seventy-five, and therefore ought to be entitled to the same accommodations. The apartments for officers in these hospitals are all separate, according to their rank, and occupy a great portion of the buildings; while the seamen's cots and plain camp stool seats, are huddled together as if to form the extreme of contrast with the sofas, mirrors, and tables of the superiors.

There is another of these splendid hospitals built at Chelsea, near the navy yard, Charlestown, Mass. and every article necessary for such an institution has been purchased for it, although it has only been occupied for a short time. At present the sick are huddled into a close confined dirty chapel, and the excuse for not using the hospital is, that seamen desert from it. After many thousand dollars have been expended in the erection of the building, wise heads have ascertained that seamen would run away if sent there! I would ask some of the great ones whether or not their heads are capable of containing more than one idea! and whether a fence could not be built at a very trifling expense to prevent men running away, and in the meantime, or until a fence was built, could not a marine guard keep seamen within its walls? It would be paying a poor compliment to the marine corps to say they could not. At present the seamen of the marine hospital are ten times better

provided for than the seamen in the naval hospital, and there are no quarters at the present naval hospital suitable for officers at all. If they are sick they must remain at their lodgings and be attended by the surgeon of the station, and every thing except medicine they must pay for themselves.

In these hospitals none but the seamen of the navy are admitted, and that can only be done by an order from the commandant of the navy yard where the hospitals are situated. If a sailor is discharged from the navy and taken sick, who is going to the commodore to solicit a permit for to get him into the hospital? If he has money they will keep him until that is gone, and then thrust him out of doors; even if an application was made for that purpose, the commodore would possibly require more certificates as to who the man was, than could be procured. These hospitals may be an ornament to the places where they are erected, but the benefit that seamen will derive from them will not be great; and I scarcely know under what contingency, we could expect to see half men enough in them to fill them. There are few men-of-war's men who live to be old enough, to render them unfit for service by age. Their hard laborious life, cause them to find a grave, but too often, in a foreign land, or a shroud from the sea weeds under the wave. There are in the navy at present about 8,500 seamen, marines, &c. and 1,160 officers, making in all, 9,960, at twenty cents per month, will give an annual amount of \$23,904 which is by no means a small sum to be taken from them and given to institutions from which not more than one in twenty will ever derive any benefit.

The difference between seamen's and officers' quarters in hospitals would not be a matter of much consequence, but the same unequal distribution extends to the good things of the hospital department, on board of the ships. There is abundance of wines, porter, and other things of the sort, furnished for the use of the sick, on board of ships in commission; but in the course of eleven years, I declare, with the greatest regard to truth, that I never saw or knew a half dozen of wine to be given to the crews during that period; but I have known a commissioned officer allowed a bottle of porter every day, and

a bottle of wine every two days, when he was sick with a disease that he had brought on himself. The only article that sailors usually receive, if very sick, is a little sago or arrow root, and then it is very seldom that any wine is put into it, to make it palatable. I never can forget what I heard a dying man say, on board the *Lexington*, at Buenos Ayres. When the doctor was very anxious to do something for him, he replied, "It's too late, now, doctor; if you had tried to do something before, you might have done me good; but now it's too late. I want my will made out, and my wages left to my mother: she lives in Richmond, Va." These were nearly the last words he spoke; in an hour he was a corpse. Deny this who can. There are generally chickens put on board for the use of the sick, but it rarely happens that any of them ever find their way to the mouth of a seaman. If a chicken dies, during the day or night, it is sure to be one belonging to the doctor—at least, it is put into his coop, by the cabin or ward-room steward, and a live one taken out and put into their own—as these worthies take particular delight in *weathering* the doctor, and keeping their own stock good. A coroner's inquest will be held under the fore-castle, who will report that the doctor's chicken came to its death by some cause unknown, and the body is committed to the sharks. Pandora's box holds nothing that does not fall to the lot of the doctor's fowls, on board of a ship of war.

CHAPTER XVIII.

Promotion for privates in the navy—masters' mates—duties of passed midshipmen—second masters and passed midshipmen, different from each other—conduct of the navy department with regard to promotion—leaving seamen in foreign jails—Havana—the conduct of our consul there—two men of the *Constellation*—their sufferings—remarks on the want of laws to protect seamen from outrages—letters from the *Boston Atlas*—popularity in the navy, and reasons for publishing this work.

As long as the chances for promotion in the navy are so small as they are at the present day, no young American, who

has any ambition, will enter it; for no matter how deserving or capable he may be, there is no promotion for him, except it may be to the rank of gunner or boatswain—nor can that be obtained, unless by many years servitude—and when obtained, it is a life of constant toil. They come home, from a three years cruise, get three months leave of absence, and then off to sea again. The very limited number of these officers gives a chance to one in five hundred of the seamen in the navy to attain that rank annually, which must give great hopes to aspiring young men; one will attain the goal, and four hundred and ninety-nine be disappointed. To the rank of petty officer, one in eight will be appointed in three years. The old grade of masters' mates is now entirely extinct: they were generally seamen, appointed to that rank, which was equal to a mate's berth in the merchant service. When the pay bill was passed by Congress, provision was made for warranted masters' mates; but why a law was made relative to a grade that does not and is not likely to exist, must be left to others to determine. Had this grade been such as would have enabled the department to have filled it up with the *particular* friends of *particular* administration men, it would have been quickly filled, instead of being permitted to dwindle into nothingness; but as masters' mates would have to be made from the rank and file of the navy, promoting them would be doing a virtuous action, which our government seldom performs towards those under its control. The duty of a master's mate is to look after the hold, stowage of water tanks, casks and provisions, and taking care of the cables and other articles, coming under the charge of the sailing master. Masters' mates of the main, lower, and orlop decks, of ships of the line—of the main and berth decks of frigates, and berth decks of smaller vessels, might be deserving men, appointed from among the crews, as in the case of boatswains and gunners; but at present our passed midshipmen, who are growing grey, waiting for promotion, have (after serving five years as midshipmen, and passed a severe examination) to learn, in addition to what they already know, to retail stinking whiskey by the gill, and the mystery of sweeping the decks and whitewashing overhead, cleaning the iron hoops on mess

kidds, cans and spit-boxes, and superintending the tasteful arrangement of mess platters, &c. in the mess chests. Now these are accomplishments which cannot be deemed necessary to the formation of the character of an officer or gentleman. In fact our passed midshipmen are no more than *boss* whitewashers, bag stowers, sweepers and scourers—pretty employment for young aspirants after naval glory—isn't it? But as the government is letting them become grey-headed, and the fathers of families, before it promotes them, it very properly instructs them in the above mentioned necessary household duties. It seems to strike me forcibly, that it were better to let these officers go into the country, if their leave-of-absence pay will not support them in a city, and conduct country *belles* to and from the church or village ball, and thereby keep the rust off their manners, than it is to keep them superintending a parcel of cooks, polishing iron hoops, &c.; and there let them inhale the fresh air, which would be better for their health than inhaling dust and lime, at every respiration, on a berth deck. When passed midshipman G. M. W—— was appointed to a station of this kind, on board of the Concord, he requested us never to call him an officer, but to designate him as a *retailer of the rye*. To make a young officer attend serving to others what he does not use himself, and the smell of which pains him, must be unpardonable. If there is no other employment for him, the secretary of the navy might, with as much propriety, order him to attend bar, in a grog shop. That it is necessary that some person should attend to those duties, will be admitted; but why not let it be done by master's mates, and thereby give a chance of promotion to the petty officers or seamen?

There is another rank which is not filled, that is, second masters. It never was the intention of the law that these should be passed midshipmen, although they now perform that duty. The law allows a second master, when attached to a vessel for sea service, \$750 per annum; on other duty, \$500; on leave of absence, or waiting orders, \$400. The pay of a passed midshipman is, on duty, \$750 per annum; waiting orders, \$600. So that a passed midshipman, doing the duty of a second master, would receive no more pay; but on leave of ab-

sence, or waiting orders, would be a loser of \$200 per annum. If the department will not understand these things, and interpret the laws of Congress as they are written, why, it ought to be made to do so—that's all. The grades of second master and passed midshipman are entirely different, and ought to be acted upon as such. Masters' mates ought to be made so as to give the meritorious some hopes of promotion, and thereby create emulation, and ambition to excel and render themselves worthy of it. The law fixed the pay of warranted masters' mates at \$440 per annum, on duty, and \$300, while on leave of absence. Since that time the department has fixed the pay of masters' mates, not being warrant officers, at twenty-five dollars per month. What is the meaning of either, when there are none in the service? There are some things about the navy department "never dream'd of in my philosophy." In the merchant service there is every chance for a young man,—let him persevere, and success is sure to follow—all depends upon his own exertions—in six years he may be master of a vessel; but in the navy he can only rise to the rank of a petty officer, and one in five hundred to the rank of boatswain or gunner, and these cannot be obtained under eight or ten years servitude. Young men can judge of these things, and never will enter the navy until some greater reward is laid open for them to attain. Will not the government correct some of the blunders that it has stumbled on, and do an act of long-delayed justice?

As this was intended to be the last chapter, I condensed it as much as possible—for much that ought to be taken notice of, must remain for a second edition: but there is one evil, of so pernicious a nature, that it must not be overlooked—that is, the imprisoning of American seamen in foreign ports. In doing so I will not carry my reader to a far distant land, to point out instances of the outrages upon seamen from this cause—and by taking a foreign port as near as possible, it will give a better opportunity to the consul (for upon him I shall fix the crime) to refute my assertions if he can do so—that is, if any of his friends should send him a copy of my work. So I shall take the port of Havana, of which N. P. Trist is consul.

A judge of one of the inferior courts in Philadelphia, lately, where a case of this kind was tried, gave a seaman his wages, who had been left in jail in Rio de Janeiro; an appeal was made by the defendant to the supreme court, and the judge of it fully confirmed the sentence of the lower court, and said that had the case been tried before him he would even have went further, and given damages as well as wages. The judge of one of the courts remarked that never had he known a consul to refuse a master of a vessel a certificate for imprisoning a man, where they had been applied to, and that those certificates, where he presided, would never have any more weight than *ex-parte* statements, for he said that consuls had no salary and were merely commercial agents, and would do all in their power to oblige masters of vessels who were their employers, or who could make favorable representations in their behalf: he further said that every petty disturbance on board of a vessel was used as a pretence for incarcerating a seaman in prison in an unhealthy climate, and that consuls permitted them to do so on the strength of the statements made by the master or officers, who were as often in fault as the seamen. Nothing, he said, short of an actual attempt to deprive the master of a ship of his command, would justify imprisoning and leaving in a foreign port, an American seaman. The law vested a master of a vessel with sufficient power to correct offences, without resorting to such measures. Such was the substance of his remarks, as I read them in the newspapers. Some occurrences of this nature passed under my own observation (while on the West India station) in Havana. The crew of the brig Otis, of Philadelphia, (Norbury master) were put in prison there for some offence or other, and were compelled to labor as criminals, breaking stone with a shackle round their ankle, only allowed sufficient food to keep them from starvation, and forced by the Spaniards to do all the menial duties of the prison. I saw them while they were at Castle Blanco; Norbury had been there the day previous to ask them how they liked their new boarding house, and tantalize them with the wretchedness of their situation. I gave them all the money I had (three dollars) to purchase food, and never have

I seen Americans in such a situation. They were dirty, covered with vermin, hair uncombed, the clothes which they had on were in rags, and they were not allowed to get any of their own from the vessel. One dollar of the money I gave them they had to give to the mayoral, or *boss driver*, to keep the prisoners from taking the rest from them. These men, for some petty offence, were confined among, and forced to labor the same as men stained with the darkest crimes. The consul had never seen them, but had ordered them to be confined, on the strength of the master's representation; and yet that man still remains in office, and as I heard, has lately imprisoned the master of a vessel. A poor seaman is a mere cypher, but a ship master is somebody, and he may be brought up at last, with a round turn, and the punishment that I would award him for the whole of his crimes, would be one week's confinement in the same manner and place that he has confined others who were less guilty than his vile self. For this violation of the law the master was sued in Philadelphia, and damages recovered. On a subsequent voyage he had men confined again in Havana, but owing to an order issued by the Captain General, (Tacon,) they were not sent to labor, as his order forbid the like, except to such as had received sentence from a judicial tribunal. Before the Otis sailed, they were taken on board and put in irons. Finding that they could not be terrified by this means, Norbury discharged them in the consul's office, as he was afraid to take them to Philadelphia, for fear of the damages that they could have recovered, and the displeasure of his owners. The three month's pay, which the law directs to be paid into the consul's hands, two months of which the seaman is entitled to when discharged in a foreign port, was not received by them, it was comprised between Norbury and the consul; but the former had to pay the jail expenses himself, as well as paying them up to the day of settlement.

Two seamen from the Commodore's gig of the frigate Constellation left the boat on the morning that she sailed from Havana, got drunk, and the ship left them behind. They went to sleep in the house of a Spaniard, he put a watch into one of their pockets, and then waked them up, and accused them

of theft, when they searched their pockets and found the watch. They had no knowledge of how it came there, and offered to return it, but the Spaniard refused to receive it unless they gave him four dollars, which they refused to do. During the time they had been asleep he had stolen from them all the change they had in their pockets; but each of them had a little bag slung around his neck (as seamen usually have) in which there were a few dollars, and as they would not give him that too, he had them arrested and put in jail, where they were kept at hard labor, breaking stones, in the same manner as the crew of the *Otis*, with scarcely a rag to cover their nakedness except such as they received from the American sailors who sometimes visited them, on Sundays. Their food consisted of a small loaf, weighing about four ounces, in the morning, and one-half the size in the evening; at noon they had a small quantity of boiled beans and two ounces of meat. At the end of six months, they were removed over to *Carcel Nuevo*, or new prison, on the Havana side, and as the governor had issued his order already alluded to, they had not to do any more work; still the Spaniards, of which there were upwards of three hundred in the same gallery, imposed the drudgery and menial duties upon them, as they were foreigners, which consisted of emptying the tubs that they used; and with the greatest difficulty they kept the Spaniards from committing a crime upon their persons at which humanity and decency shudders, and which I cannot mention to christian citizens. They remained eight months in the new prison, without any form of trial. They had written various letters to the consul, but received no answer, nor had he ever come to see them, nor sent them a single cent, although he knew them to be starving and naked. At length a letter was written to Mr Trist in their behalf, by a person who shall be nameless, and he sent them word that they had been tried for stealing a watch and money, and that as soon as a vessel of war of the United States arrived, they would be sent on board. This was after having suffered fourteen months imprisonment, without ever having any trial, that they knew of; and had Commodore Dallas been informed of the fact, and the governor, Tacon, requested to give them up,

he would have done so, as the sequel plainly showed. Even admitting that they had stolen the watch, Tacon would have given them up to the commodore to be punished by him; but whether Mr. Trist ever solicited their release, or informed Commodore Dallas of their situation, he is at liberty to declare. From what I know of the humane and gentlemanly disposition of the commodore, I clear him of all participation in the affair, and charge the whole upon N. P. Trist, Esq., U. S. consul at Havana. Two seamen were sent home in the *Grampus*, to Norfolk, when I was gunner of her, to be tried for some offence, which goes to prove that General Tacon did not wish to try American citizens for alleged offences, who were not residents of the port, and was ready to give them up when required to do so by the consul. I have many similar charges against the same individual, and other consuls, which, for want of room, I must keep back; but they will serve to throw in the face of any of his friends who may attempt to justify him, or say that he has not been guilty of crimes which ought to be punished by removal from office, as the lowest punishment.

TO THE EDITOR OF THE ATLAS:

Sir,—I send you an extract of a letter, from a Boston gentleman at Havana.—

“Captain Howell has gained his suit against our American consul—which was tried in the Spanish court, for the detention of the vessel he commanded last summer, and also for damages arising from his personal imprisonment by N. P. Trist. The Spanish court, in giving in their verdict, state, that the American consul exceeded the bounds of his authority in meddling with the Spanish flag, and that he is held liable for the same. The consul must sign the documents, and it will make him appear in no very enviable character.

“It now remains to be seen what funds the consul has to indemnify the damages sustained by Captain Howell and his Spanish owners.”

Your paper of May 25th contained a long account of the imprisonment of American seamen at Havana, and the noble doings of the officers and crew of the United States sloop of war *Boston* to relieve their sufferings. It also expressed the desire of the American residents and ship masters at Havana that our government would investigate the acts of the consul. I would ask, Mr. Editor, if anything has been done at Washington for the removal of so odious a character as N. P. Trist from the consulate.

AN AMERICAN.

The following is an extract of a letter written by an American gentleman in Havana, dated

APRIL 13, 1839.

The United States sloop of war Boston, Captain Babbitt, commander, is now ready for sea, bound to New York. His departure will be deeply regretted by every American, as this distinguished and benevolent officer has rendered very important services to the Americans incarcerated here, and undergoing punishment. In consequence of the neglect and pusillanimous behavior of the United States consul, the crews of several American vessels are still suffering in a Spanish prison. Among these are the crew of the American ship Wm. Engs, of whom I have given you an account in a former letter. They are unjustly still in chains, suffering punishment at hard labor, on an accusation of mutiny in this harbor. Captain Babbitt, upon receiving a communication from several hundred Americans, applied to the United States consul for information respecting various Americans in prison, undergoing punishment. Not receiving satisfactory facts in relation thereto, but on the contrary having been given to understand that his co-operation was neither solicited nor required, Captain Babbitt immediately addressed himself to the captain general, for that information which the United States consul had, for his own reputation, refused to give. The facts elicited in the case of the Wm. Engs are, that on the 11th of July, ultimo, the consul wrote to the captain general asking a speedy trial by the Spanish law, instead of sending them to the United States,—and that in violation of the treaty made with Spain, they were not allowed an advocate, nor were permitted to produce witnesses favorable to their case—and neither would the consul be present, and see that justice was done them, or assist them in any way, although they often wrote to him requesting his protection, and stating they were Americans.

In this situation, Captain Babbitt finding the case (and perceiving that the consul would not interest himself in behalf of innocent men, and being importuned by several hundreds of Americans) applied to the captain general to deliver the seamen over to him to be carried to the United States for trial—this was refused.

Captain Babbitt and his officers have acted nobly. They have interested themselves in every honorable way to deliver these men; but I am sorry to say, have not succeeded.

This morning Captain Babbitt visited the Royal prison at the Punta, and after inquiring of the American prisoners the cause of their imprisonment, he assured them that he was ever ready to render such assistance as their cases merited. Not finding the crew of the Wm. Engs there, he proceeded with Purser Southall and Mr. Ferdinand Clark to the Cabanos, where the governor of the Castle brought before them such Americans as were present. Captain Babbitt stated to them that he had labored to obtain their liberation from their unjust punishment—that he had now submitted the matter to the government at home, but as some time would elapse before any course could be adopted for their release, he had brought them a bag of money, one hundred and forty-three dollars, donated by the officers and crew of his ship, for the purpose of relieving their present wants, and as a testimony of their sympathy in their behalf—and that this money he should place in the hands of Mr. Ferdinand Clark, to be appropriated in moderate sums for their daily support and comfort—at the same time promising them that he should not relax his endeavors to have them released as speedily as

possible;—and although he should be absent a short time, he should not forget them. The commodore was soon expected here, and would, no doubt, from his known patriotism, protect them, &c., &c. The poor prisoners shed tears while the gallant Capt. Babbitt addressed them.

For a long time we have been expecting another American consul, but none has yet been appointed; but it is believed that when the United States government receives all Capt. Babbitt's documents in relation to the present occupant, that there will be no further delay in forthwith sending to this port a consul, whose abilities and interests will protect the interests of his countrymen here.

The conduct of N. P. Trist, in the affair of Purser Southall and others, has been such, as to compel Captain Babbitt to write the consul in the severest terms; and as the whole correspondence is to be laid before the government, we may soon expect some important result. The Americans here are well satisfied that the present consul has an unfriendly feeling towards his countrymen, and it is hoped by all that he may be speedily removed from this important port.

We published, day before yesterday, a letter from an American gentleman in Havana, concerning the affair of the ship *William Engs*. The following are extracts from letters by the United States consul at Havana, in relation to the same matter.

CONSULATE OF THE U. S. OF AMERICA. }
Havana, April 13, 1839. }

To John Mills, Esq., Attorney of the U. S., Boston.

Sir—In acknowledgment of your favor of the 16th ult., which came to hand on the 11th inst., I have to state that a full report of the case of the ship *William Engs* will be made very shortly to the Secretary of State, with the recommendation from me that an application should be made by our government to that of Madrid, for the pardon of Isaac Clark and his comrades, upon the ground that though they were convicted of a mutiny of a very serious character in this port, the sentence grounded thereon was inordinate; and further, that there are circumstances averred by them (in favor of which averments my experience in the office creates a decided presumption) which, if true, were justification of the mutiny. So, at least, would be my decision as a judge, and my counsel as a father, had I (which Heaven forbid!) a son a sailor under our flag.

I am, sir, very respectfully, your obedient servant,

N. P. TRIST.

Extract from the American consul's letter, dated Havana, December 18, 1838.

Capt. Edward B. Babbitt, commander U. S. ship *Boston*.

Sir—In regard to the crew of the *Wm. Engs* the case is different; they were arrested by the Spanish authorities, at a call from their captain, prosecuted for mutiny, convicted and condemned. "As to the fact of the mutiny," or conflict on board the ship, there can be no doubt; "with regard to the *origin*," the story told by them is, I am sorry to say, but too probable on the face of it, judging from my experience of such matters. If true, the captain ought to be now engaged in cracking stones in their stead.

Upon becoming aware of their account of the affair, which was not until after their condemnation, my belief in its probability led me to take steps in their behalf, which will, I hope, be attended, before long, with a favorable result.

N. P. TRIST.

These remarks of mine were written previous to my having seen the extracts which have been made from the Atlas. Mr Trist, in his letter to Mr. Mills, says that "there were circumstances averred by them, which, if true, were a justification of the mutiny." In this respect I must differ from Mr. Trist, I do not know what can justify mutiny, and I presume the law would hesitate to accept of any justification. He says in his letter to Captain Babbitt, that he was not aware of their statement of the affair until after their condemnation. This is a plain confession of neglect of duty on his part, for those men were not tried immediately after their arrest. The Spanish courts never decide upon cases under several months, and it was Mr. Trist's duty to have seen those men and provided them counsel and such other assistance as they required, but I have known many seamen confined in Havana, who wrote to Mr. Trist, and he never returned them an answer. When I was in Havana in the spring of 1837, the crew of the Wm. Engs were in jail; whether they are the same men or not I cannot tell, if not, the captain of the William Engs must be a tyrant, and it will be seen on his return whether or not the owners of the ship will countenance such a man, or show their disapprobation of such villainy by dismissing him from the vessel.

From what I have already stated relative to the crew of the Shylock, and the case of Mr. Nichols, and Judge Story, some may be disposed to think that I have overshot the mark by being too severe; but I have made those remarks from conviction that the persons alluded to have acted unjustly, so much so as to make them criminals in my opinion; if wrong, it rests with myself and conscience, for which I am only amenable to my maker. I deny the right and justice of the law which vests a master of a merchant vessel with authority to flog a seaman. In the navy the offences are pointed out, and the degree of punishment to be inflicted, but in the merchant ser-

vice neither the one nor the other is the case, but both are to be judged by the master. I never was in a merchant vessel but that I performed a full voyage, and never had a weapon of any kind raised to me; but in that respect I have been more fortunate than many men equally deserving. Had it been otherwise I should have sought redress at the bar of my country's laws; had it been denied me, I would have sought it even to the cannon's mouth, would have pursued my victim "through paths where wolves would fear to prey." The man who would take advantage of my situation I would have punished when on a par with him, or released from his command. Of the low scurrilous abuse so commonly used by some officers I have had my share, "but words break no bones," and I wish that all would do as I have done in that respect; that is, to take no notice whatever of ungenteel language. Our government is based upon the principle that an injury to one is an injury to all. As soon as one man is vested with power to flog another, one stone is taken from the base of the constitution, which is cemented with the blood of the heroes who fell in the revolution. To preserve it entire is the duty of every American citizen. To prevent the disturbances which disgrace our merchant service more than that of any other nation, it would be necessary to revise the whole marine law, which was passed when our commerce was young, and is totally inadequate to its wants at the present day; and it becomes a public duty to enforce it upon the consideration of Congress at as early a period as possible, for the merchants and ship owners are annually great losers by its inefficiency. Giving a good shipmaster more authority than he ever has any occasion to use, is placing a dangerous weapon in the hands of a bad one. "It is an old principle in the law, that freight is the mother of wages. If a ship does not earn freight, seamen do not earn wages. If a vessel goes to a port in ballast a seaman earns no wages." This is great injustice. "If a shipmaster wilfully and maliciously forces a seaman on shore, and leaves him in a foreign country, or if he does not force him on shore, but leaves him behind, and refuses to bring him home, such captain is liable to fine and imprisonment, besides paying damages to the seaman." These,

and many other evils, that I have passed over for want of space, (as an enumeration of them all would go beyond the limits I have proposed for the present edition,) are not forgotten by me, and much require amendment. It often happens that when seamen want to leave a vessel the master pays their wages and allows them to go on shore at noon day, and then says that they have run. This is most generally done when the wages are lower at the port where the seamen leave, than what they were receiving; others are shipped in their place, the difference goes into the master's pocket, and the protection, which he keeps, is made to answer for foreigners. This requires particular notice, as protections are national affairs, and they ought to be given and used with the greatest caution.

With regard to the foregoing declarations respecting the navy, they are not hap-hazard assertions, nor the exaggerations of fiction, conjured up to carry a point, nor are they the rhapsodies of enthusiasm, nor crude conclusions jumped at by hasty and imperfect investigation, nor the aimless outpourings either of sympathy or poetry; but they are the proclamation of deliberate, well weighed convictions, produced by experience and proof, which, if necessary, can be sustained by the affirmations and affidavits of thousands who have seen all, and much more, than I have described. No doubt, unless deprived of the weapon, some will say that the letters of thanks very often published by a committee of the crews of ships, expressing their thanks for the kindness they have received from their commanders and officers, gives the lie direct to my assertions. I must say that many of these letters are *glorious humbug*. It must be gratifying to the feelings of good officers when these tokens of friendship are fairly received. When they are obtained by indirect means and insinuations, they are a fraud. I shall relate two instances of the latter, and then let the matter rest.

When we returned from the Mediterranean in the *L——n*, in 1830, the crew were discharged, and some time afterwards a letter appeared in the *Norfolk Beacon*, or *Herald*, giving the commander and first lieutenant thanks for their kindness and lenity. This letter was signed by three petty officers, said to

be a committee selected by the crew for that purpose. There never was a greater falsehood! could men thank a commander who would inflict two dozen lashes for the offence of which none were oftener guilty than himself? Could they return thanks to a first lieutenant who gave them two and three dozen over the bare back with a piece of eighteen thread ratline, when the captain was absent? The letter was got up by one who had good right to be grateful. He was an Englishman that we shipped in Smyrna, who had never seen the United States, and was rated a quarter master, by those he praised, as if there had been no Americans in the ship. And after all, he was useless trash, and got two other men, one a drunken quarter gunner, to put their mark to the paper, ignorant of its contents. Many of the crew had gone off and others shipped in the service again before the letter came out; but such as did see it would have torn the catiff's liver out who wrote it if he could have been found. Another of the same kind was sent to Captain D. when he relinquished the command of the same ship to Captain McKeever, on the coast of Brazil, and a copy sent home with him to be published in the same paper. Some months afterwards the paper was received by G. G. Williamson, at that time our sailing master, and that was the first time that any but the writers ever heard of it, and the crew were in a rage. The man who had flogged another until the doctor interfered, as has been already related, could not make sycophants of two hundred men, and make them kiss the hand that dealt them death. I have served in the navy long, and the esteem and regard that I feel for many of its officers will go to my grave with me. Although I am no longer amongst them, yet I feel as much regard as they ever can, for its welfare, and this exposure has been made with a view to make it more perfect, and to place "a round, unvarnished tale" of facts before the people of the United States, who alone, through their representatives, can make the required alterations, and insist on some plan for bettering the condition of seamen. As for any hints respecting the navy commissioners and former secretaries of the navy, I can only say that to get praise from me, (whatever that praise may be worth) they must first de-

serve it. "For neither pension, post nor place, am I their humble debtor." Some may say that this production is the effusion of a disappointed man, as I was dismissed from the navy when gunner; this weapon too, I want to deprive them of by stating that case, in order to set those officers right respecting the affair, who only, perhaps, heard the sentence of the court, and those officers that were on board at the time, may correct me if I deviate from the truth, in stating the occurrence to the public.

CHAPTER XIX.

Court martial—charges—conduct of the court—witnesses—John Beggs—his character and testimony—advice to John B—d—e—kindness of Commodore A. J. Dallas and Lt. Henry A. Adams—remarks and conclusion.

It can be proved, if necessary, by letters written to my wife previous to my dismissal, that it had been my intention to leave the navy and join the cause of an oppressed people at that time struggling for their independence against a powerful nation who had vowed to wage a war of extermination against them, even to the scalping knife. For some slight reproof from the first Lieut. of the U. S. ship Concord, to which ship I was attached, lying in the harbor of Havana, about the 4th of Nov. 1836, I determined to put my intentions in execution, and for that purpose I wrote to Commodore A. J. Dallas, then on board, to accept of my resignation, or to permit me to return to the United States in order to tender it myself to the proper authority. Lieut. Adams informed me by letter, that he was directed by the commodore to inform me that my request could not be complied with. I then wrote to the commodore to say that my reasons were of a private and confidential nature, and if I could see him privately they would be explained. To this no reply was made. I then wrote a third to say that in becoming an officer I still retained the rights of a citizen, and

was constrained to say, that unless permitted to resign, I should decline doing any more duty on board the ship. Immediately after this letter had been received, I was suspended from duty. On that evening I had an engagement on shore that I could not break, without forfeiting my word solemnly pledged, and in order to keep it, I attempted to leave the ship without permission, but was prevented from doing so by the officer of the deck; when reported to the commodore that such had been my intention, I was arrested and a sentinel placed at my state-room door. I had not attempted to break an arrest but merely a suspension, as I had not been arrested previously. After three or four days passed away and no charges sent me, I concluded that I was not to be tried by a court martial, as I had at first expected, for the law directs that when an officer is to be tried, a copy of his charges must be sent him within forty-eight hours after his arrest. Not having received such charges, I wrote an explanatory letter to the officers, in order to elucidate my conduct on the night that I attempted to leave the ship. What was my astonishment on the 10th to receive a copy of my charges, with a letter stating that a court martial would convene for my trial on the 14th, and one of the charges was grounded upon confessions and explanations made in my letter to the officers, and which I had looked upon as one of a confidential nature. On the morning of the 13th (Sunday) the articles which I had in my state-room belonging to the gunners' department were removed, and by that act I was told as plain as if spoken in words, that I never was to have any more official control over them, and that "the glory had departed from Israel." The first Lieut. then informed me that I was at liberty to speak to or send for any individual that I wanted. Before that time I had not been allowed to speak to any person but my servant who brought my victuals into my room, which was an arbitrary and unnecessary restriction. Monday morning came bright and clear with the wind from the land. All nature seemed gay; the town of Matanzas, where we were then laying, seemed as quiet and still as if nothing was to happen, the decks had been washed and dried as usual, and as I passed to the water closet, the poor tars got out of my way

quicker, and looked upon me with more respect than they would if I had been in all my glory, instead of being shorn of my splendor. How different it is with political office holders? the moment that they are deprived of power, their satellites fly them, and pay court to their successors. Not so with the generous tars of the navy. Four bells, (ten o'clock, A. M.) was struck, the jack was hoisted at the mizen, and the report of a twenty-four pounder, that had often roared to the application of the match by my own hand, gave warning that the *farce* was about to commence. The roar of the cannon rolled away among the mountains like distant thunder, and the jack hung listlessly at the mizen mast head, like the raven flapping his funeral wing. I had heard and fired many guns before, and afterwards saw and heard them fired where they carried the iron globe of death, which accompanied its course with the tearing of the plank, cutting of the rigging and spars, and the cries and groans of the dying and wounded, but never did any have the effect upon my heart that that one had, and yet I was indifferent as to the consequence, as the power of the court could only extend to dismissal. Not so with the poor seaman who goes before such a tribunal; he turns pale when he knows that the very flesh can be cut from his back by that barbarous instrument of punishment, the lash, by those whom he thinks his fellow men. Alas! their feelings, sympathies, all are different. So different as to appear made by different hands, and of different materials, instead of having one common father, one parent earth. The court was held on the poop, the awning and side curtains had been spread, a table placed there with the prayer book and writing materials. The members met in full dress; and I appeared in the same. The president was Lieut. McIntosh, then commanding the schooner Grampus, Lieuts. Stallings and Cox, of the same vessel, Lieuts. Wm. Howard and Thos. Lieb, of the Concord, with Thos. Miller, Commodore's secretary, as judge advocate. The commodore was present and treated me with politeness, condescension and kindness; he handed me a chair, and by one or two remarks endeavored to relieve me from the momentary embarrassment and excitement that I was laboring under. The order was read for con-

vening the court with the names of the members, and I was asked if I objected to any of them sitting on my trial, and replied in the negative. I cannot however but remark, that I had seen two, or one of them at least, as drunk as any man ever saw me, and that offence was my chief charge. One of them I had seen so drunk, that he was like the "crooked stick, could not lay still." No man that breathes ever saw me so, yet I was content to let him sit on my trial, as objecting would have compelled me to make some declarations that would have injured him; yet I knew that none were so apt to condemn faults in others as those who were guilty of them themselves. Although I was advised by some of the officers to object to his sitting as a member, I declined doing so in consideration of his having a family. I hope, should he ever see this, that he will correct that habit, and put it out of the power of any other man ever to do him the like favor, if he should be placed under such circumstances. Lieut. Henry A. Adams, the prosecutor, was called, and the only part of his testimony at which I was offended was his accusing me of neglect of duty, when a few days previous to my arrest he stated to me personally, that I had done my duty to his entire satisfaction, and that the ship's battery looked neater than any other he had ever seen. This was a contradiction, for which I forgive him, and I take pleasure in publicly stating that he is a gentlemanly, humane, and good officer, and after my leaving the Concord he performed an act of kindness to one dear to me, which has laid me under a lasting and never to be forgotten obligation; and that act of kindness he performed from no motives but those of generosity and kindness of heart. In the mean time, as the weather changed and the clouds wept o'er the deed, the court adjourned to the forward cabin. The letter that I had written to the officers was produced, also the one written to the commodore, wherein I declined to do duty. The conciliatory one, wherein I stated that I would explain my reasons for wishing to resign, was not produced. I objected to the reading of the first of these letters, as being a private one, and was written after the time specified in the charges; but the court after being cleared and sitting with closed doors, decided that it

should be read. So much for nautical jurisprudence. The rest of the witnesses were passed, midshipman G. M. White, midshipman T. B. Barret, carpenter Jonas Dibble, and last, not least, sailmaker John Beggs. The three first witnesses testified as gentlemen and men of honor would do, but the fourth, John Beggs, oh, heavens! Come forward John and show the public how you look. He is one of the most contemptible puppies, gentle reader, that it ever was my misfortune to be acquainted with. If you do not know him you ought to be thankful that you have escaped that calamity. He is below the middle stature, his body denotes strength, and his head stupidity, a certain lascivious leer rests in his eye which makes him fond of the society of a certain class of ladies. On joining the Concord I had been advised by a brother officer who had formerly sailed with him, to keep him at a distance until I knew him better, and then I should be sure to do so. This advice I acted upon, and we remained on the coldest terms, as I soon found in him all the meanness and littleness of soul of which I had formerly read, but never before saw in the human form. He went by the cognomens of Squire Parrot and Paul Pry, the former of these the officers of the Concord knew how he merited, and the latter he deserved from his likeness to the original. He imagined that what was one man's business was every body's, and by incessant prying and questioning he had learned the private history of every officer and man in the ship, galley cooks included. He was sometimes called Don Quixote for having made a Sanco Pancho of a black servant to carry a verbal challenge or insulting message to an officer, but for this he ought not to be blamed as necessity compelled him to make use of such a squire, as no other could be found to do his errand, and the poor mess boy was forced to do so, through fear of disobeying his superior. I had frequently held him up to scorn and turned the laugh against him, in order to correct him of his vile prying habit, and now came his turn to pay me for the whole. When he was sworn, I would have given much to have said, *now John, pay me good*, but it would have been unnecessary. He stated that he had repeatedly seen me intoxicated; this, too, from him whom I

had seen so drunk, that he foamed at the mouth like a mad dog, while laying in his berth. He related many conversations that passed privately at the mess table; and so convinced was the court of his design to injure me from malicious motives rather than a sense of justice, that he was pointedly directed to tell nothing but what had a bearing upon the case. But he had made up his mind to tell his tale, and was determined to go through, and when he concluded, I felt such a perfect disgust for the man, that I would not condescend to ask him a question. John, I told you the day I was tried that I owed you one. I owe it to you still; this is only arraigning you at the bar of public opinion, and acknowledging the debt. During the past few months, I have had much leisure time, and I have many pages of manuscript by me; in them I have drawn a character that will become you. It is the reverse of every thing great or good; it is such a character as devils love and christians hate, and will appear in a volume under the title of "Fag Ends," and the public will see how you look in your own clothes. While my hand is in, I wish to tell one of nearly the same stamp (J— B—d—e) that if he does not haul down the false colors that have been flying at his gaff end for some time past, and cease to represent himself as a single man to the unmarried ladies at a certain naval station, not a hundred miles from Portsmouth, I shall devote a couple of chapters, and draw a character for him; strip the peacock of his borrowed plumes, and hold the buzzard up in his own dress. Ladies beware of the wolf in sheep's clothing! you will find him out by his baying. J— take warning in time, sink to your proper level, do not think yourself above a mechanic, neither your education nor your income, nor your behaviour (lately) entitles you to the character or standing of a gentleman. But, to resume. The testimony for the prosecution, on the court martial, was all given in by three o'clock. They asked me to send for my witnesses, I replied, that I *should not call any*. The judge advocate wrote down that I *had none to call*. I smiled, and as the members were getting hungry, they very graciously allowed me until next day at ten o'clock to prepare my defence. Now, reader, the time that a naval court martial takes to try an of-

ficer is exactly in proportion to his rank. For a seaman, one day; for a forward officer, two days; for a commissioned officer, lieut. &c. one week; and for a post captain, &c. a month or longer, ad libitum. The next morning the same gun was fired, and up went the same blue flag. The defence was read to the court, and all the rest of the officers that could be spared attended, except John Beggs, who declined going, remembering the adage that "he who listens will hear no good of himself." But it sometimes happens in this world, as Puff says in the Critic, "that we always have some d—d good natured friend or other to tell us such things;" and so with John, who was woefully hurt at the disclosure, and but little sympathy was felt for him either by the men or the officers. I made no great exertions in the defence, as from the first I saw "how the cat was going to jump," and thought it as well to sail with the current as to attempt to breast it; as both were to end in destruction, it would have been a useless waste of strength to struggle against it. I saw with unblanched cheek, the fate that was to overwhelm me, and stood ready to "bid a long farewell to all my greatness," greatness acquired by years of suffering, and thrown away in a moment of thoughtless excitement. Lieut. Howard, when Lieut. Adams was under examination, asked him if he did not consider me intoxicated on a morning other than that specified in the charges, thereby availing himself of knowledge acquired by being with me in the same ship, instead of trying me by the charges before the court. It was like asking a witness in a court of justice, if the accused had not murdered as well as robbed him. And on the morning that my defence was handed in, the same gentleman rose from his seat after the court had convened, and held a conversation apart, with the prosecutor. Who ever heard of a juryman leaving his seat in the jury box, after being sworn, to hold a conversation apart with a prosecutor? Lieut. Howard was detailed from duty to sit upon my trial, and could have nothing relative to his duty as a lieut. to say to the prosecutor, and his doing so was laying himself liable to foul suspicions. When one officer prefers charges against another, it is necessary to his character that he should prove them, if not he suffers

nearly as much as the accused would, if convicted. When a first lieutenant prefers charges against an inferior he seldom fails to convict him, as the judges are often the messmates of the prosecutor, and if they have any bent, it is towards the prosecutor instead of the accused, whereas gentlemen of a civil jury are always supposed to lean to mercy; hence arises the saying in the navy, "that there is no use in going to law with the devil if the court is held in h—l." If an inferior officer or seaman was tried by those of his own rank he would often be acquitted where he is now convicted. I only mention these circumstances at this late *period of the action*, to show those gentlemen who composed the court that although I did not state to them my conviction that I was unfairly tried, I was aware of the fact, and that I am not as ignorant of such things as they suspected me to be, even if I was brought up on the fore-castle instead of the quarter deck. That I had been intoxicated on board that ship was true, and I was ready to admit the fact, and give up my appointment, without the paraphernalia of a court martial; and so too were several others, although I was the only one punished; and if my dismissal was a warning to them, I was ready to suffer, more especially, as I did not wish to remain in the navy at that time. I left the ship on the 20th of November, with orders to report myself to the navy department, which I did, on my arrival at New Orleans, a short time afterwards, but more as a duty and mark of respect to the secretary of the navy, than from any other motive. I waited in vain for an answer, and went to Texas, whither I had made up my mind to go, even if not dismissed, and the first official information that I had of the decision of the court martial was in last February (1839.)

Reader, I must beg your pardon for saying too much of self, but I have done so with a view to show you how *impartial courts martial* can be, and how members act when they think that they are dealing with a man who has been brought up before the mast. To Commodore Dallas I return my warmest thanks for the courtesy which he showed me during and after the trial; and Lieut. Adams, (although he was my prosecutor) I shall ever think and speak of him with kindness, and should

I ever be in the navy again, I should wish to sail under no better officer, as the only fault for which he ever censured me is forever removed.

With regard to my motives for publishing this work, they will hardly be misunderstood ; I have had no personal animosity to gratify, for most of the individuals alluded to never did me any personal wrong, nor have I received any favors from those that I have praised. As for John Beggs and John B—d—e, I have touched them a little, but it is with a view to their benefit, and to guard others against them. Had they been worthy of any other punishment, I should long ago have inflicted it ; and am now ready to satisfy them for this in any way most agreeable to their *code of honor*. Every candid reader will perceive that I could not have been such a consummate egotist as to write for praise or credit for the composition, for while I have education sufficient to know, love, and appreciate elegant composition, yet it does not enable me to attempt it, but only points out my utter inability to do so. The foregoing pages have nothing but truth and good intentions to recommend them, and as such they are presented to the public. My object, wholly and solely, is the benefit of my brethren of the sea ; and if my production is uncouth, the liberal will pardon its being so, when they reflect that I have been deprived of the advantages that a regular education must ever give. The public is very seldom troubled with any productions from common sailors, and I wish to make a merit of that circumstance to my own advantage.

I scarcely dare look over what I have written, for fear of feeling so just a sense of my own inability to do the subject justice on which I have touched, as to make me destroy the whole and leave every seaman to work out his own salvation as he best could ; but I have spent some time on it, and paid my last two-and-sixpence for the paper on which it is written, so that I am determined to let it go, sink or swim. How has my soul been wrung in glancing over what I have written, to see errors in every page, that I cannot correct, as the little education that I have has been picked up as chance offered, on board of our ships of war, which *are*, or rather *were* not the best seminaries in the world to graduate in. There, too, I

was deprived of the books necessary to instruct myself. How true it is that time squandered or misspent, is never to be regained ; money or property may be so by care and industry, but time may be followed and chased to the end of our lives and yet we *fall astern of the lighter*. Often do I regret, when taking a retrospection of my past life, the many hours spent in a man-of-war's top, or between two guns, playing checkers. Often do I regret the days and weeks that I have spent in perusing the fictitious, but graphic and lively descriptions, of Scott, Cooper, Marryatt, and others ; I have been chained as if by magic to their pages, until I expected to see a Highlander, in kilt and claymore, stand before me, if I moved my eyes from the book ; or an Indian chief start from under the bows of the launch, clad in feathers and war paint, ready to utter the thrilling war whoop. Often has fancy pictured to me some follower of the Red Rover, in the rough, weather-beaten countenance of an old quarter gunner or boatswain's mate ; I could conjure the quarter master on the poop, into a second edition of "long Tom Coffin," of glorious memory ; I could fancy the "hissing globe of death" passing over my head, or the rage of the hurricane sweeping through the rigging ; I could look on the lee side of the quarter deck and see some Peter Simple, sent to sea for being so unfortunate as to be the fool of the family, and by his side some good natured O'Brien, who was so ready to give him "such striking proofs of his disinterestedness ;" I could look on the other side of the deck and see a young "Kings Own," who had just mounted the epaulet, and dreaming of love and honor ; or such a character as "Bob Straw," in the "Patrician at Sea ;" but I never could find "a Snayrleyow." There was a good-natured "Chucks" and "Chips," on the forecastle, and everything tending to favor the illusion. Thus would I dream away my time until a main-top-man would rouse me, to sweep where I was sitting. Had I spent the hours so wasted, in making myself acquainted with the rules of Lindley Murray, grammatical errors would not offend the reader in every page, as is the case. Yet I have succeeded better than many of my poor shipmates, who remain to this day without knowing a letter of the alphabet. But truce to vain regrets, "what is done can't be helped ; better luck next

time." My craft, such as she is, is ready to launch forth on the waves of public opinion, and a short time will determine whether she is to stand the thunder bolts that may be launched against her by some modern Prometheus, or be dashed against the rocks of neglect, and go to pieces; if the latter is the case, I hope that some abler hand will set her up again. All the fault lays in her erection, none in the model. It is a pity she should perish, as she is bound on a rough voyage for the benefit of a poor, neglected, but deserving, generous class of men. She has no paint, her bare plank is exposed to the action of the weather and the inspection of the observer, who may see of what she is built; and none have ever seen or corrected a line on her until she was sent to be *set up*. No good-natured friend to point out defects, or correct inaccuracies. I gaze upon her, not as the lover gazes upon his bride, nor as the young wife looks upon the first pledge of mutual love, nor with the raptures that the poet surveys his humble strains; but with a mingled feeling of sorrow and regret that she is not more perfect. You will say, gentle reader, that I ought to have brought forward my division of apologies in my preface, but the reason why I have said any thing now is, because I had a page of my quire of foolscap left, that I wished to fill up, and as that is nearly done and the devil (printer's) is at my elbow ready to bear it to his master, I must conclude by saying to the public that should it suffer this to pass without censure, I may be heard from again in a gayer style, under the title of "*Fag Ends*." The truth is often stranger than fiction, and if you forgive this, what follows may be gayer and more interesting. Gentle editors, I have escaped drowning a dozen times; and the last time that I fell overboard in the Mississippi, I had a narrow escape from becoming a snack for an alligator. The lightning's flash has passed in many a bitter blast, and left me unscathed, and the shot of the Mexicans refused to kill me, while in the service of Texas. So my dear fellows, don't put me to death by a stroke of your pen, or an unkind paragraph. Hoping that I have *bespoke* a good word for my craft, I trust her to your mercy, and take my leave; the sheet is full.

SUPPLEMENT.

SINCE the manuscript of this work was prepared for the press, I have been enabled to obtain information on several subjects of which I was formerly ignorant. With regard to the system of crimping alluded to in chapter third, I have to say that such is not the case in Boston, and less frequent in New York than formerly. In Boston, any one can stand a man's security, nor is the person shipped compelled to buy the clothing that he may require from any particular individual, as used to be the case in New York, and that excellent regulation induces double the number of seamen to ship for the navy that did formerly in Boston. But there is another reason why more seamen do not ship for the navy. The landlords, generally, are opposed to entering them, as out of their advance they will receive no more than if they had shipped in a merchant vessel, and if they enter in the latter they will return in a few months, whereas in the former, they may be absent three years, and then are likely to be discharged at some other naval station, and their wages pass into other hands.

In chapter fifth, I have treated of the evil tendency of the ration, and now say that had the navy commissioners urged this important subject upon the notice of Congress as strongly as they put forward their own claims, it would long ago have been remodelled, and seamen would not now be compelled to purchase, what may from general use, be termed necessities of life, (tea and sugar,) nor would they be contracting habits under the sanction of the law, that would make them miserable for life. There is one fact that ought not to be disguised, that is, the board of commissioners have been a humbug from beginning to end, and have done more to injure the navy than can well be imagined. That board has always been composed of narrow-minded, illiberal,¹ and selfish men, who had imbibed notions in their youth which followed them to their graves; and they were ever averse to any change or improvement for which they could not derive the whole credit, and although these are

now in the minority yet they have followers who may be called the Tories or Toadies of the navy, or rather men who cannot think for themselves, and therefore suffer those old *codgers* to think for them. It has never been proposed to Congress to make a law to give the seamen of the navy liberty at stated periods. No. That is a prerogative which should be left in the hands of commanders, but there is no just reason why it should be so. In the British navy seamen are allowed liberty and spending money every three months, and the law is not attended with any difficulty there, and why should it be in our navy? It could be attended with none except improving the condition of seamen, and giving them some rights, a thing that navy commissioners have heretofore been very averse to do.

In the British navy if seamen are injured they receive what is termed *smart money*, in proportion to the extent of the injury, and at the same time they receive their full pay from the ship to which they may be attached, and after twenty-one years they are entitled to a pension, whether disabled or not. In our navy, if a seaman sustains an injury, he may receive a small pension, but if he ships again that compensation ceases altogether. This tends to encourage idleness, or to deprive a man of the price of his wounds, and if he should remain in the service forty years, he receives no pension unless disabled.

With regard to the trials by court martial, mentioned in chapter tenth, I have since been informed that the doctor was found guilty by the court, contrary to law, and evidence; at least, the attorney general so expressed his opinion, and the doctor was reinstated by the President. The commander was suspended, and sentenced to be placed lower upon the list. The latter part of the sentence was set aside, as being improper.

The captain who triced an officer to the mast-head, by the royal halliards, ought to have been dismissed; but he was let off, with a limited suspension.

The naval judiciary is very defective; there is no reason why punishment should be left discretionary with courts martial. The offences and punishments could be as clearly marked out as in civil and criminal codes, on shore. But a great struggle

would be made before members of a court martial would relinquish the prerogative of screening their messmates, and punishing their inferiors. If we have not the shadow of aristocracy, we have the substance, and in no branch of our public service is it more apparent than in the navy.

As to the trials of Nichols and Couch, I have only to say that it is by no means the first time that the laws have been trifled with in screening men from punishment who have been found guilty of cruelty and oppression; but I took this case, as being a recent one, and the more likely to be remembered by our citizens. The cowardly attack made upon me by Nichols, has had no share whatever in inducing me to take his case to illustrate my subject, as that part of my work was in the press previous to the assault; and his father challenging me to a fist-fight, in the street, drew nothing from me but pity and contempt.

“Seamen have long been considered, by our courts and merchants, not as citizens, or even as men—but as a kind of *cattle*, made only for the use of commerce, and of accumulating property, and they are not entitled to the protection of the law, or even to the rights of humanity. Where are *those* who preach to sailors, in behalf of the merchants, the doctrine of passive obedience, non-resistance, and submission? Do *they* exert themselves, as *they* might and should do, to secure poor, unprotected sailors from injustice, abuse, and excessive cruelty?”

In all probability, the reason why our marine laws vest ship-masters with so much power, is because that at the time they were enacted native seamen were very scarce, and as foreigners from all European countries were to be employed, it was deemed necessary to delegate extraordinary powers to masters of vessels. Those very laws have prevented our stock of native seamen from increasing. When young men enter on board of vessels, they think themselves free; but when they find that they receive the treatment of slaves, they abandon the sea, and seek other employment, where they can enjoy the rights and exercise the duties of citizens.

If we carefully examine the revolts and mutinies that occur

in our merchant ships, we will find that three-fourths of them are caused by foreigners: not because these men wish to create disturbances, but because, on board of the vessels in which they have been brought up, they are allowed to speak their minds, like men. If an officer in an English vessel d——ns a man, the man will d——n him, in return;—but should he do so on board of an American ship, he is knocked down—and if he resists, it is called revolt or mutiny—or the man will be flogged. Flogging a seaman was never productive of any benefit: if he is a bad man, flogging will not make him better—if a good one, it will ruin him; for no man who has any regard for himself, or has any decent pride, can feel otherwise than a slave, after he has been treated as one. This I know to be the real fact, although it may be set down as misrepresentation.

It will be seen, by the following article from the Boston Morning Post, of Nov. 21st, 1838, that others think as I do upon the same subject.

MERCHANT SAILORS AFLOAT.

In the "Annual Reports of the Seamens' Friend and Aid Societies," the consequent immorality of seamen, through boarding in houses in which ardent spirits are sold, and the chicanery of those who keep such establishments, are dwelt upon at considerable length, but little, if anything, is said of a class of monsters not second to any under heaven for tyranny and fraud, and from whom no back door of escape presents itself to the ill-fated subjects of their despotism. We allude to masters of vessels, whose harsh treatment of sailors while on the ocean, is oftentimes the cause of their debauchery and intemperance when on land. How many captains are there, who, not satisfied with the most implicit and prompt obedience of those placed under their command, in all that relates to their duty as seamen, under the most frivolous pretences, inflict barbarities on them from which even a cannibal would turn away with loathing and disgust. When he deprives his foe of life, and afterwards feasts on his body, he but acts in conformity with the established customs of his tribe; but the sea-tyrant, in direct opposition to the established customs of the community who employ and support him, instead of consulting the welfare of those under his command—in order to rob them of their hard earnings—in many instances exercises, with unrelenting rigor, a species of tyranny without a parallel, even in the annals of slavery.

In the "Ninth Annual Report of the Seamens' Friend Society," is an extract of a communication from a shipmaster in New Orleans, which appeared in the Sailor's Magazine of April, 1837, in which he complains of having to pay seventy-five dollars a month advance wages to a whole ship's

company, [he should have said for the passage to the port of destination, whether long or short] and very handsomely attaches the blame to sailor landlords, as the cause of such unusual expense. Now, we do not believe that there is an individual in existence who abhors these *beasts of prey* more than we do, or one who more ardently desires their reformation; but, "to give the devil his due," we must confess, that shipmasters themselves, in this particular, are as much to blame as the land-sharks, if not more so. If they will continue to tyrannize over their crews, they surely cannot consistently blame them if they run away; for what man, possessed of common feeling, would remain in a vessel where he is addressed as a dog, and who, if he retorts by even a mere look of disapprobation, is knocked down with the cook's axe, the soft end of a handspike, or whatever may be within the reach of his tyrant, especially when more wages and a chance for milder treatment offers? We fancy men possessed of such feelings are "few and far between." We have not occasion to traverse the globe in order to find tyrannical shipmasters—for they are here, even at our door;—yes—from the port of Boston sail such men. An instance—

A certain ship sailed from this port some time since, bound for New Orleans, having nearly a temperate crew on board. It is true, two of them had some grog in their chests; but, independent of this, they were all of temperate habits, and capable of performing their duty. The ship had not cleared the bay, when the captain—as was his usual custom on such occasions—had the crew employed aloft, and then ordered the mate to break open their chests, and if he found any grog, to bring it aft, or throw it overboard. This was heard by the man at the helm. In conformity to these orders, the mate descended into the fore-castle, and with a crow-bar commenced prying the lids of the sailors' chests. The noise he made in his operations, attracted the notice of some of the crew who were employed in the fore-top; and, suspecting that all was not right below, they communicated their suspicions to their shipmates, and, thus united, they all descended and put a stop to his proceedings. Finding the crow-bar mode of opening chests rendered useless, the mate demanded their keys. They inquired "if anything had been stolen, that he wished to have their chests searched." "No," replied the mate, "but it is the captain's orders that I carry all the grog in the fore-castle aft." "O, if that be all," answered two of the crew, opening their chests, (without the aid of keys, the mate having already saved them that trouble,) and putting the grog into his possession, "here is our's, the rest may do as they please." The others, in like manner, opened their chests, and assured him that they had no grog; but, not believing them, he insisted upon having their contents bundled out, in short, to have their chests turned bottom up. To this they answered, "that their chests were their own, and as there was no grog in them, they would not have their clothes turned topsy-turvy, because he didn't feel inclined to believe them." Had the parties been on deck, and had the mate there received such an answer, they would have felt the weight of his crow-bar; but believing them sincere, relative to what they asserted, he took, in reality, all the grog that was in the fore-castle, and left them. They then hastened on deck, and proceeded to finish their several jobs. By this time the mate had informed the captain of the resistance on the part of the crew, to having their chests searched. "D——n them," said the captain, walking forward, "I'll see whether they will or not." When he came abreast of the galley, he seized a sailor, who was passing aft, by the collar, and in

characteristic language, demanded the key of his chest. Before he had time to answer, the mate, armed with the cook's axe, struck him on the head—the blood followed, and senseless he fell into the arms of the captain. In this situation he was dragged aft, and seized up by the wrists, to the starboard side of the main rigging. The captain then called the crew aft, and with the assistance of his mates and passengers, succeeded in seizing them all up, the man at the helm excepted. Having thus secured them, he descended into the fore-castle, and finished breaking open their chests; which he turned bottom up: but found no grog.

Providing himself with a cowhide, he next questioned the crew, individually, "if they were not sorry for what they had done?" All but two answered in the affirmative, and were liberated. He who had been knocked down by the mate was one of those who answered in the negative. Enraged at the unyielding replies he received from these two innocent men, the captain swore he'd "see their back-bones before he was done with them,"—and swinging the cowhide twice or thrice round his head, he rushed towards the wounded sailor, as if he intended to devour him, and commenced lashing him most unmercifully. When his rage had somewhat subsided, he again demanded, "if he was not sorry?" "No," replied the sailor, "I've done nothing to be sorry for—and though you and the mate have half murdered me already, and still thirst for my blood—you may drink it; but if this should be the last word I may speak—once for all, and forever, I answer, no! no! no!" Cursing and swearing, the captain turned toward the mate, and ordered him "to strip the scoundrels." When their clothes had been torn off their backs, the captain again commenced flogging the wounded sailor, the flesh and blood following almost every lash, until he fainted. Then turning to the other, who had been pretty fortunate so far, he demanded, "if he was not sorry?" "No," was the only answer he received. "By God, then," said the captain, "I'll make you sorry before I'm done with you," and commenced flogging him, without intermission, until he had given him forty-five lashes. In the meantime, the mate, in order to recover the sailor who had fainted, threw several buckets of salt water over him, which, entering into his lacerated back, restored him to consciousness, and increased his sufferings. "Is that fellow recovered yet?" inquired the captain, as he rested upon the combings of the after-hatchway. "Yes, sir," answered the mate. "That's right," returned the captain, rising and walking towards him; "for I intend to see if he will not be sorry before I'm done with him." Again he flogged him, until again he fainted, having received, in all, ninety-six lashes. They were then cast adrift, and bundled into the between decks, and put in irons. Suffice it to relate, that they were liberated next day; but were unable to perform their duty during the passage to New Orleans. They both went to the hospital, where they remained, until the ship sailed for Liverpool. As might have been expected, the whole crew deserted.

It may be said, that the crew must have been a cowardly set of fellows, to stand by and see their shipmates flogged, without attempting their rescue; but we say, such was not the case. They were strangers to each other, and they knew, that if they interfered, the captain would run the ship back, and have them indicted for mutiny; and, having the first story, would make it appear that the safety of the ship and cargo rendered such a course of proceeding necessary. Besides this, there were passengers on

board, who would have sided with the captain, as others have done in similar cases. Added to this, he would also have made it appear that he was engaged in the "righteous cause of temperance,"—though more than half drunk himself at the time,—and thus have rallied to his support, many of the self-styled virtuous portion of the community, to whom the destruction of a gallon of rum is a matter of more consequence than the sufferings of a thousand sailors. Aware of these facts, and being perfectly sober, the crew acted in accordance to the dictates of sound judgment, in remaining passive. A contest between the parties would, in all probability, have resulted in the death of some of those engaged in it; and it needs but a very small portion of sagacity to enable any one to see how the affair would have terminated. Had any of the sailors fallen, the captain and his supporters would not only have been justified by the ministers of the law, but would have been looked upon by many as right brave and gallant gentlemen, who perilled their lives, against fearful odds, in the support of law, justice, and, more than all the rest, the temperance reform! Reverse the case, and what do we behold? What would have been the result to the friendless mariners, had the captain, or any of those aiding him, been slain by their hands? Why, a conscientious jury would most conscientiously have pronounced them guilty of mutiny and murder on the high seas, and a short shrift and a high gallows, blackened memories and dishonored graves, would have formed their award. Let the reader reflect on these things, before he pronounces the conduct of the non-resisting crew as being but the result of cowardice.

If the crew had been half drunk, the captain would not have attempted to break open their chests, for, in that state, they would have defended their grog at the risk of their lives. If our premises be correct, it follows, then, as a natural conclusion, that they were either sober or dead drunk. If the latter, it but adds a darker coloring to the brutal cruelty of the captain; for he could have had nothing to fear from men in a state of utter intoxication, and no good effect could have been produced by punishing them when in such a state. Even in the navy, when men are punished for drunkenness, it is not until they have become sobered that such punishment is inflicted.

But let us follow this sea tyrant, and we shall find him resorting to the same means to rob the sailor as that employed by the land-sharks. He shipped a crew in New Orleans, at from twenty-two to twenty-five dollars a month, each man. When the vessel arrived in Liverpool, three hands left her. In lieu of them he shipped three foreigners. He then brought several hampers of wine on board, and had it stowed in a part of the ship to which the crew could obtain access at any time. The baited trap thus set for them had the desired effect. The foreigners, having received a month's advance wages, would have but little, if anything, due at the end of the voyage. Having nothing to lose, they broached the wine, and during the passage drank several dozen bottles of it. Upon the ship's arrival at the port of destination, the crew took their chests and hammocks ashore, and called upon the captain, to ascertain when he intended to pay them. When the cargo was discharged, he replied. Taking this for an answer, they made themselves easy; and called not again until the cargo was discharged. But what was their surprise, when he charged them with embezzling the cargo, and threatened them with prosecution and the state prison, if they again had the assurance to trouble him, and to consider

themselves well off by his letting the affair drop so quietly. In vain they protested and swore they were innocent. The more they protested the more he threatened them with the state prison, until, at last, losing all patience, at thus finding themselves duped, in the bitterness of their hearts they cursed him as a tyrant and a robber. Who can blame them? They had been nearly five months in the ship, and had only received two months' wages, and if we may be permitted to use the expression, had been in a "hell afloat" all that time!

Cursing and swearing, they left the robber, and instead of seeking legal redress, hurried into a "sailor's hell," and there, in the worship of Bacchus, forgot their misfortunes. On the following day they were shipped by their landlord, and carted drunk to their vessel—he having secured their advance to defray their expenses, which, to do him justice, did no more.

We doubt not but the landlord and captain co-operated in thus hurrying them to sea, though we have no positive proof that they did; but we know such has been the case in many instances of a similar character. Be this as it may, the captain made a handsome sum by it. The wages of nine men—say at \$22 per month, for three months—about \$594, was not amiss for the loss of a few dozen bottles of wine.

And yet, we doubt not, after having tyrannized over his crew, as was the case in the first instance, thereby compelling them to run away, he would write a long letter to his owner, complaining of the expenses incurred in consequence of their desertion. And, in the second instance, the enormous sum of from twenty-two to twenty-five dollars per month, each man, for another crew, and other incidental expenses, would not pass unnoticed. But the true and only cause of these expenses—himself—would attach the whole blame to sailor landlords. Not a word relative to the faithful services of his second crew, or the \$594 he had so cunningly swindled them out of, would be noticed. O, no! it would come in for pocket money—it numbered with his perquisites!

Let the friends of seamen cast a glance on the ocean. Let them take into consideration, that on it the sailor spends the greater part of his time. That there he is removed from the protection of the law, and governed only, in many instances, by the whims of lawless tyrants. Let them look at the above instance of tyranny and fraud, and then inquire if the welfare of the seaman afloat deserves not more attention than it has hitherto elicited? Let them not wonder when they hear of mutiny while tyranny exists; for sailors, with all their faults, are men, and love to requite a favor conferred, or resent an injury received as well as others. We except the naval service. Would to God the merchant service had no more abuses to reform than the naval. In the one, a man is respected as such—while, in the other, in too many instances, he is treated worse than a dog. Let the friends of seamen look to this, and use some means to place the one on a footing with the other.

We do not censure or disapprove of any of the measures of those who profess to be laboring for the sailor's welfare. Far from it; we concur with them in all things; but wish them to take into more serious consideration the welfare of the sailor afloat. To this end, then, we propose that such part of the maritime laws as relate to the protection of sailors, and the duty of the officers, be published and distributed throughout the merchant shipping, until every sailor in the United States has them by heart. By this means, they will become acquainted with what is legally right, and when wronged will know how to seek redress.

NEPTUNE.

E R R A T A .

Page 7, line 10 from top, for accommodations *there*, read accommodations *are*.

Page 14, line 3 from the bottom, for *surgeon's mate*, read *surgeon's attendant*.

Page 19, last article in the bill, for *one dollar*, read *one dollar and fifty cents*.

Page 28, line 10, omit *easily*.

Page 33, line 20 from top, for 8000 read 80,000; and in 21, for 4 or 5000, read 40 or 50,000.

Page 33, 5th line from bottom, for 26 each, read 36 each.

213

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